THE BRITISH RULE

Missionary Activities In Orissa
(1822 - 1947)

MANJUSRI DHALL

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The book deals with the origin, growth and development of Christianity in Orissa during the British rule. It also covers the works of these missionaries amongst the Oriya speaking people of Central-provinces, Madras and Bengal.

The experience of the missionaries while evangelizing the people have been taken into consideration. While evangelizing they educated the people, understood their social problems and suggested remedies. They worked amongst the inaccessible hill tribes of Orissa trying to civilize them. They denounced Hinduism, at the same time they were least aggressive.

The book deals with the missionaries relationship with the British Government. They co-operated with the Government in certain fields, i.e., education, medical help, relief works in times of famine, eradication of socio-religious evils like Meriah, infanticide, etc. They refused to support the British policy of patronizing indigenous idolatrous institutions and idolatrous practice such as Pilgrim Tax, Car festival, Jagannath etc.

The book deals with the encounter of Hinduism with Christianity from different aspects.

ISBN 81-241-0385-2 Rs. 595

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HAR-ANAND
PUBLICATIONS PVT LTD

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Har-Anand Publications Pvt Ltd
364-A, Chirag Delhi, New Delhi-110017

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PRINTED IN INDIA

Published by Ashok Gosain & Ashish Gosain for Har-Anand Publications Pvt Ltd.
Typeset at S.S. Computers. Printed at Printline.

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PREFACE

This work was undertaken under the Teacher-fellowship Programme of the University Grants Commission.

It is a case study of the activities of the Christian Missionaries of Orissa during the British rule (1822-1947). The outer limit of this work includes the activities of the missionaries amongst the Oriya Speaking People who were in neighbouring provinces of C. P., Madras and Bengal.

There is no doubt, their first love was evangelization. Yet they contributed immensely towards the development of education, printing and publication in the vernacular and English language. They worked sincerely in "Civilizing" the many hill tribes of Orissa. They nursed the sick and cared for the poor and the destitutes.

While working amongst the natives of Orissa they became closer to them, tried to understand their social problems and suggested remedies. They denounced Hinduism, but were least aggressive in proselytizing the people.

While operating in Orissa they were bound to bump into the areas of the British government. Their interaction with the government has been dealt in this study of the missionaries of Orissa. They co-operated with each other in the fields of education, medical and relief works in times of famine. They clashed on issues relating to the government's association with idolatrous institutions and protection of idolatrous practices, such as, the Pilgrim Tax, Car Festival, Jagannath temple etc.

This study is divided into Seven Chapters.

The first chapter deals with the origin and growth of Christian influence in different parts of India.

The second chapter is concerned with the beginning of missionary enterprise in Orissa by the various denominational groups.

The third chapter gives a detailed account of the establishment of mission stations and various resettlement colonies for the native converts.

The fourth chapter refers to the means and methods adopted by the Orissa missionaries in converting the people. Mention has been made about the difficulties which the missionaries faced and the hardships they had to undertake to reach the people.

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The fifth chapter deals with the most successful activity of the missionaries. They excelled in educating the people of Orissa and with the help of their printing press encouraged the development of Oriya language and literature. They contributed towards renaissance in Orissa.

The sixth chapter refers to the controversy between the missionaries and the British government relating to idolatry. The humane side of the missionaries also made them concerned about the orphans, the diseased and Meriah victims. They helped the government and the people in times of great natural calamities.

The concluding chapter sums up the work of the missionaries of Orissa in various fields and their lasting influence upon society.

I am indebted to the authorities of the Carey Library (Serampore) National Library (Calcutta), National Archives (New Delhi), J.N.U. Library, New Delhi, Nehru Museum Library, New Delhi, Orissa State Archives and the Museum Library (Bhubaneswar) for permitting me to collect datas relating to my research.

I am obliged to the University Grants Commission, New Delhi for awarding me a fellowship which enabled me to visit London in 1991, to collect source materials from the School of Oriental and African Studies and from the British Library.

My personal acknowledgements to my guide Dr. K. S. Behera, Professor of History, Utkal University who has given his valuable time for this work. My thanks are also to Dr. J. P. Das, Dr. M. P. Dash, Superintendent, State Archives (Bhubaneswar) and S. C. Chatterjee, Librarian, Carey Library, Serampore, who have rendred assistance to me through the stages of my completion of the work.

Last but not least, I am grateful to my husband, Sidhartha Pradhan and to my children, Satish and Soma for bearing with me all the difficulties faced by the family in pursuance of my object of collecting datas pertaining to my research and also for giving me all kinds of support during my work.

Manjusri Dhall

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I

CHRISTIANITY IN INDIA

"The knowledge of the gospel and planting of the Church of Christ in India is of very ancient date."[1] The Syrian Church in Malabar is the oldest Church in India which certainly existed as early as the beginning of the sixth century A.D.[2] It was believed to have been founded by the Apostle St. Thomas. There is no sufficient evidence to prove it, the probability can not be ruled out either.[3] Early Roman coins found in the country shows the interaction with Rome and the West in the first centuries. The existence of a curious colony of "White Jews" at Cochin in the same locality in 70 A.D. makes their claims stronger.[4]

Another tradition traces the origin of Christianity in India to second century A.D. and was found by one Apostle other than St. Thomas. Possibly the Gospel may have been preached in the first century.[5] Without doubt Partainus, the famous head of the great catechetical school of Alexandria, mighty in scriptures had preached at the close of the second century amongst the Brahmans of India. St. Jerome had claimed to have found Christianity already in existence in India. He discovered the Hebrew original of a St. Mathew's Gospel left there by the Apostle Bartholomew.

Most probably the scene of his labour was this ancient seat of Christianity.[6]

The earliest Church in India i.e. the Syrian Church in India was a branch of the Nestorian Community. In the fifth Century (A. D.) this religious community was expelled from Europe and Africa and there by it emerged as the leader of the Asiatic Church. The Patriarch of Babylon became its spiritual head. He supplied the Nestorians with bishops of the Chaldean or Syrian rite. That is how Syrian bishops were seen in the Malabar Coast of India.[7]

However Nestorianism came to India only when it prevailed in Persia. Due to some reason "there was in India little power of expansiveness in the ancient christian faith. Of what might have been the seed of an extensive evangelization of India, the only fruit is now the old Malabar Church, numbering some 200,000 souls x x x"[8]

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After the Nestorians, another rival religious order, the Roman Catholic Church entered the field of evangelization in India in the fourteenth century. It operated mainly through the Dominican and Franciscan orders.[9] They were from Portugal.

Christianity in India prospered with colonization. The Portugese adventurer Vasco da Gama discovered the sea route to India. He landed at Calicut in may, 1498. Twelve years later another Portugese leader Afonso de Albuquerque conquered Goa on 25th November, 1510.[10]

The conquest* of Goa was partially completed in 1553. Earlier to this the process of evangelization of Goa had started. Various priestly orders arrived from Portugal, first the Franciscans, then the Jesuits** the Dominicians and lastly the Augustinians.[11] The first regular Portugese Mission under brethren of the Franciscan order, arrived in 1500 A.D. Its progress was slow and it was mainly confined to the Portugese settlements until the Jesuit Priest Francis Xavier reached India in 1542.[12]

Malabar coast and the southern districts of Madras were the scene of his labours.[13] By the time he finally left India for the East in 1552, he had made 700,000 conversions in Goa (according to Chroniclers). Mass conversions were successful in the remote fishing villages of Kerala.[14] However the Jesuit missions of Xavier and his successors received ample support from the Portugese government and thereby prosecuted and absorbed the older Syrian Church.[15]

The Syrian Church suffered at the hands of the Portugese in India who tried to bring it under the control of Rome. In 1599, they succeeded when at the Synod of Diamper (Udayanperea near Cochin) this issue was made final. The Syrian Church purged of its Nestorianism was retained. In 1653, many members of this Church revolted against Papal control. As a result the Church was divided into two groups which is still existent, the old Church of Syrian Catholics who owed their allegiance to their own bishops under the patriarch of Antioch; the New Church were affiliated to Rome.[16] These missions did a great work, and they left behind, especially in the Portugese and the French territories in India, a strong Roman Catholic Church, numbering about two thirds of the 2,600,000 native Christians in India. In relation to this work, the English influence even through the Roman Catholic Communion here occupied a secondary place.[17] The Jesuit Mission in Madura commenced from 1606. Its founder was an Italian nobleman Roberto de Nobili. He preached less rigid Christianity and his views were accepted by the Pope Gregory XV. The Brahmins converted to Catholicism were allowed to wear their sacred cord and caste marks provided these were blessed by a Catholic Priest.[18] These Catholic

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Churches came under the control of the Inquisition, founded at Goa in 1560 and survived until it was dissolved in 1812.[19]

The successors of Xavier's Jesuit order could not establish themselves in Northern India, the seat of Mughal influence. The native priests who adopted Xavier's methods were successful in evangelizing Southern India and Srilanka. In the seventeenth century Fr. Joseph Vaz and his 'Oratorians' made progress in their missions of Canara and Ceylon. The Portugese had been removed from their earlier settlements of Cochin, Galle and Kandy. The Catholic Church was divided between the 'Padroado' and the 'Propaganda' group.[20] The latter was a papal organization and they detested Portugese administration in Goa. Goa became a refuge of native priests like Dom Matheus de Cresto etc. He wanted Rome to 'nativize' the Church in India, particularly in Goa by appointing native prelates. Fr Vaz and his Oratorians had to work cautiously and with courage when they had to face two—pronged onslaught from the 'heathen Dutch' and from 'recalcitrant' Propaganda priests. Fr. Vaz and particularly Fr. Jacome Gonsalves, a native of Divar island followed St. Francis Xavier and continued with their missionary work in vernacular languages. At the close of the seventeenth century another Goan Priest Fr. Agnelo D' Souza started a formidable movement of social activism. His missionaries worked sincerely in the tribal areas of Dadra, Nagar Haveli, Bastar, Ranchi and the Andaman Islands. Present 'Agnel' Churches concentrated more on education (vocational, technical, female education etc.) than on conversion. Unlike St. Francis Xavier the members of this Church were believers in the ideals of 'Swadeshi.'[21] The Jesuits remained active until their suppression by the Papal Decree 'Dominus ac Redemption' of 1773. They were allowed to recommence their activities in 1814.[22] They suffered particularly at the hands of the muslim ruler of Mysore Tipu Sultan. About 1784, he forcibly converted the people to Islam and deported above the Ghats a large number of Christians.[23] The Catholic Mission in Northern India, though less successful than those of the South was established due to the tolerant or otherwise indifferent attitude of Akbar and his successors. This mission still exists until the present day.[24] Batches of Jesuit Priests from the Portugese Churches were sent to the court of the Mughal Emperor, Akbar (1556-1605). At the time of Akbar's death "Portugese power in the East and Portugese supremacy in Christian missions had equally reached its apogee."[25]

During one of these missions to the Mughal Court, efforts were made to translate the Christian religious literature into Persian to make the gospel understandable to the people. More so the koran was translated to Portugese. This kind of interaction created a better atmosphere

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for understanding and chastened the mood of the Muslim fanatics.[26] The translation of the Gospel from Portugese to Persian changed the strategy of the Jesuits. Since the time of Francis Xavier no attempt was made for the translation of scriptures into Indian languages. Hereafter the Bible found a place in the Indian heart when people began to read it in their mother tongue. The Jesuit fathers first attempted to christianize the scattered Europeans in the Mughal dominions. They worked as merchants, lapidaries, enamellers, goldsmiths, physicians, surgeons and artisans. They had illicit relationship with Muslim and Hindu women and had lost interest in Christianity. They were obstacles to evangelization. Even then congregations came into existence at Agra and Lahore. The Indian wives of these Europeans formed a part of the Christian communities. Some Americans were baptized.[27] During the third Jesuit mission some baptisms had taken place. In 1599, father Piheiro reported that within 6 months 38 persons had been baptized at Lahore. In 1600, the father baptized on one occasion 39 persons, on another 20 and on a third, 47. During the famine in the valley of Kashmir in 1597, when the Jesuits, Xavier and Goa had accompanied Akbar many mothers put their children on the roads to die. These children were recovered and baptized by the fathers.[28] During the subsequent rule of Jahangir, Sir Thomas Roe visited the Mughal Court but nothing much was done to patronize the Jesuits. Shah Jahan was not a fanatic as Aurangzeb. He was no lover of Christians either. According to the reports of Sir Thomas Roe, Shah Jahan hated Christians even before succeeding to the Mughal throne. His distrust for foreigners was less on religious grounds. He rather found in them a threat to the stability of his empire.[29] Certain instances had also hardened the emperors attitude towards Christianity. Hugli in Bengal was a den of notorious Portugese merchants, adventurers and criminals. When Shah Jahan as a prince rebelled against his father the Portugese refused to help him in this power struggle. They also incurred the wrath of the empress when her two slave girls were taken away by the Portugese. In 1632, Sagar Island etc. was attacked and Christian captives were forcibly converted to Islam.[30]

At this period Hindu religious reformers like Tukaram and others who preached Bhakti strengthened the influence of Hinduism. The range and variety of religious experience in the Mughal empire restrained the intention of the Jesuit missionaries to spread Christianity.[31] During Aurangzeb's rule the reimposition of the Zizya tax in 1679, made it impossible for non- Muslims to survive in his empire.[32]

The Moghul-Maratha conflict during the rise of Sivaji created political instability and did not contribute much towards the growth of

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Christianity in India. In the words of S. Neill - "The second half of the seventeenth century was by no means favourable to Christian missionary work. The decline of the Muslim power, the endless wars in almost every part of the country, the weakening of the hold of Portugal and the increasing aggressions by other European powers—all these things produced a climate of uncertainty and restlessness. Some new enterprises were started, but on the whole it was a time of holding on, of securing that which had been grasped, rather than of reaching out with courage to that which was unknown and unattempted."[33] Goa still continued to be the centre of Portugese power and missionary effort in India. In 1653, there were no less than 240 Jesuits in the Province, including 30 novices.

The Augustinians were the last priestly order to arrive from Portugal. They had churches in Golconda but their chief centre of activities was in Bengal. The Augustinians came in 1599, and their centre of operation was the Portugese settlement of Argh. However this mission did not enjoy good reputation.[34]

The Carmelites came to Goa in 1616, but found obstacles in establishing themselves. By Papal orders they were free from the control of the Portugese prelates. The latter created all possible difficulties for them. Many of these Carmelites were Italians and were not accepted by the Portugese. In 1709, they handed over their work in Goa to the Oratorians. When the East India Company acquired Bombay from the British Crown in 1668, they invited the Carmelites to pursue their religious objectives. The purpose of the British was to get rid of the Franciscans and the secular clergy who were subjects of the King of Portugal.[35] The Theatives were the other group of Roman Catholics who reached India by way of Aleppo and the Persian Gulf in 1640. The mission in Golconda was partially successful. But it was impossible to maintain this mission after the death of Fr. Marco in Bimlipatam who was too devoted to the Mission. Those Theatives who resided in Goa found its atmosphere suitable for them to prosper. The English in Fort St. David (Cuddalore) had invited a Theative named John Clerici who had become a chaplain for the Roman Catholics in that station. After his death, in 1694, the English recruited another Theative Fr. William delle Valle to become the permanent chaplain of Fort St. David.[36] The Capuchins did not arrive in India till 1630. Like the Theatives they were accepted by the English in Southern India. During this period Madras had grown from a village to a town consisting of a sizeable group of Roman Catholics. They had come to this place because of the safety and good conditions guaranteed by the British. With so many Christians under their care they decided in

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1650, to invite the Capuchins to undertake the spiritual responsibility of the Christians. The attitude of the English merchants was quite favourable to the Capuchins and they helped them to build the first Church in the Fort in 1675.[37]

These enterprises continued with much courage and devotion.[38] But they lacked "that massive strategic sense and continuous support which led to the success of so many of the great ventures of the 10th century."[39] In the seventeenth century, the European powers encroached on the Indian scene and established enclaves with an intention to stay. The Dutch were the first to step into the shoes of the Portugese enclaves in India. They expelled the Portugese from the coast of Malabar by the later part of the seventeenth century. Thereafter the "fortunes of Christians in the whole region were intimately involved in the policies and success of the new masters."[40] The Dutch gave priority to their commercial interests unlike the Portugese and pursued less aggressive methods in matters of religion.[41] During their ascendency evangelization efforts were renewed by the Dutch Reformed Church. It was supported by the government and left its mark "in the native Christianity especially of Ceylon."[42]

The French could establish themselves in India in the 18th century. Pondicherry in Southern India came into French possession in 1673. There is very little to record on missionary enterprises. But when the French Jesuit mission to Siam withdrew to Pondicherry some Jesuit activities developed in this region of French influence. By 1703, there were already five priests and two lay brothers. The famous Jesuit mission in the Carnatic belonged to a later stage of history.[43]

After the older Syrian Church and the Roman Catholic Christianity the first protestant missions have been the Danish Lurtheran Missions in 1705.[44] In the year 1620, the Danes acquired the port of Tranquebar in South of Madras, and its adjoining region. Later on they settled in Serampur, sixteen miles above Calcutta in Eastern India, on the Hughli river. These two cities were destined to play "an important part in the Christian history of India than many centres much greater in size and of greater repute in the general history of the world."[45]

Protestant missions to India began in the eighteenth century under royal patronage from King Frederick—IV of Denmark.[46] The latter was concerned about the well being of his countrymen settled in India. He received an appeal from the window of a soldier, stationed in Tranquebar for the spiritual upliftment of the people. Thereafter he consulted his ministers and the chaplain on the issue and accepted the proposal of Chaplain Lutken to send missionaries to India.

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The Danish Lutherans Zeigenbalg and Plutschau established the first Protestant mission in India at Tranquebar in Tanjore, a Danish settlement.[47] Zeigenbalg was successful in establishing an Indian Lutheran Church before he died in 1719. Mission work extended to places in India like Tanjore, Madras, Cuddalore, Tinnevelly and Trichinopoly.[48]

The arrival of the English coincided with that of the Dutch. The English traders were the first batch of English Protestants to arrive in India in the 17th century. They lacked missionary zeal. The charter to trade was granted to the British East India Company at the earliest in the year 1600. It was not until 1681, that the "first English Church was begun in India, and not till 1708, were the services of chaplains and school masters put on a regular ecclesiastical footing."[49] Amongst the new official Britishers the majority were planters, manufacturers, suppliers, agents, investors, advisers or consumers. Less significant were the missionaries.[50] "Nevertheless the movement of the missionaries though quiet, was deep and powerful. It had grown very greatly in volume since the Protestant missionary trickle into India had started at the beginning of the eighteenth century and more particularly from the closing years of that century when the British missionary had first come upon that scene".[51]

In the beginning there were few English missionaries. For fear of reprisals from their Indian subjects missionary activity was seen as a type of religious interference. Therefore Right Rev. A. Barry has stated "The missionary energy of our English Christianity was not strong enough to undertake so great a work, and to overcome the discouragement and opposition, xxxxxxxxxxxx to encounter from the civil authority."[52] This explains between the founding of the first Protestant mission in India at Tranquebar in 1706, and that of the Baptist Missionary Society in 1793—during these eightyseven years only two British Protestant missionaries John Thomas and Abraham Thomas Clarke had worked in India. Rev. Thomas worked on behalf of Grant at Gomalti and Rev. Clarke worked for the Society for the Propagation of Christian Knowledge at Calcutta.[53] Excepting Thomas Clarke, British missionary work existed in India by supporting the work of other European missionaries, through the Danish Lutheran Mission at Tranquebar on the S.P.C.K.[54] Rev. A Barry also mentioned—"Our Church (Danish Lutheran) was, as yet, contented to help them through the old S.P.C.K., and this aid was continued till 1824.[55] The S.P.C.K. was established by Dr. Thomas Bray in 1698[56] and it had its mission centres at Madras in late 1720s and at Cuddalore, Calcutta, Trichinopoly, Tinnevelly and Tanjore by the 1770s.[57] When Schwartz **worked for the Tinnevelly Mission in 1750, still it seemed English**

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Churchmen were not ready to enter "upon the work of evangelization."[58] The beginning of modern missionary work started when the first group of British Baptist missionaries representing the B.M.S. reached India. Only then did the "era of the Home Society—supported British missionary in India really commence."[59]

The B.M.S. (Baptist Missionary Society) was founded on 2nd October, 1792, in Kettering near London with an object to "evangelize the poor, dark idolaterous heathen, by sending missionaries."[60] The first missionary of this society W. Carey reached Calcutta in 1793. The East India Company's Charter did not provide for missionary work and he shifted to Serampore, a Danish settlement and founded a mission in 1799. "It was not until 1814, that the Company consented to the foundation of the episcopal see of Calcutta under Bishop Middleton who succeeded to the work of Henry Martin (1806-11), one of the Chaplains of the Company. The missionary work of the Church was stimulated by the journeys, recorded in his valuable Diary of the second bishop of Calcutta, Heber."[61] The London Missionary Society, established in 1795, send Nathaniel Forsyth, its first missionary to India in 1798. Following refusal by the British East India Company to pursue missionary interests the L.M.S. set up its mission under Dutch protection at Chinsura, near Calcutta.[62]

By 1810, the L.M.S. had missions at Madras, Vizagapatnam, Maladi (Travancore) and Bellary.[63] After the enactment of the Charter Act of 1813, the Company allowed the missionaries to pursue their missions in India. Thereafter, the Home societies of other Church organisation decided to emulate the work of B.M.S. and L.M.S. in India.[64]

After 1813, mission societies did not follow colonization. Countries which did not have any colonial stakes in India had also their missionary representatives in India. The American Quakers, Unitarians, Presbyterians, Free will Baptists, Methodists, the German and American Lutherans, the Canadian Baptists and many others worked in the British Indian territories and beyond that.[65]

In 1881, there were 57 Protestant missionary societies and 601 mission stations in India and Burma.[66] In the same year, when there were only 2,000 British born planters, land holders and merchants in India, there were 600 western male and between 325 and 350 female protestant missionaries in India.[67] There were 450,000 Protestant converts in India in 1881 whereas the Roman Catholic converts numbered 900,000.[68]

These large number of Roman Catholics, unlike the Protestants were not the product of recent evangelization. Due to conversions and intermarriages during the Portugese rule in West India in the 16th and

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17th Centuries these group of Roman Catholics had strengthened their number. According to the 1871-72 Statement of Moral and Material Progress it was stated that some Roman Catholic missionary work by the Belgian Jesuits was evident in Chota Nagpur region. Older convert bodies did not interact much with the non—Christian population.[69] "Catholicism was preserved by indigenous Catholic priests and layworkers supported by few foreign priests as also by members of the various Catholic Religious orders, amongst whom U. K. born were negligent."[70] Sisters of the Irish Order of Loreto Nuns, who came to India in 1841, engaged themselves in educational and orphanage work in Northern India.[71]

The conflict between the "Padroado" and the 'Propaganda' group amongst the Roman Catholics about whom it has been mentioned earlier weakened the Catholic rank in India and evangelization work suffered. In the words of R. K. Renford—"Under such circumstances the new religious force at work as W. Hunter observed in 1888, was not Catholicism, but Protestant and Anglican Christianity."[72] Nevertheless missionary activity from all sections of British Christianity increased and missions, Baptists, Congregational, Presbyterian, Wesleyan from England and U. S. A. were active in different parts of India.[73] These organisations worked through "Voluntary societies, with great earnestness and self-sacrifice, and often with abundant blessing."[74]

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2. *The Imperial Gazetteer of India, The Indian Empire*, Vol. - I, P.441.
3. *Imperial Gazetteer of India, The Indian Empire*, Vol. - I, P.441. Rev. A. Barry, *England's Mission to India*, P.115.
4. Rev. A. Barry, *England's Mission to India*, P.115.
5. *Ibid.*
6. *Ibid.*
7. *The Imperial Gazetteer of India*, Vol.-I, P.441. Nestorian-Church of East Syria is known as Nestorian.
8. Rev. A. Barry, *England's Mission to India*, P.116.
9. *Ibid.*
10. Mario Cabral e-Sa, *Goa*, PP, 11, 14. Bijapur at present is a district of Karnataka.

* The conquest of Goa is divided into two phase. The old conquest which was completed in 1553 (1510 - 1553) and the new conquest (1737 - January, 1788).

** Jesuits - A Jesuit is a Catholic priest who belongs to the Society of Jesus, which does a lot of missionary work and is loyal to the Pope.

11. M. Malgonkar, *Inside Goa*, P.33.

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12. *Imperial Gazetteer of India*, Vol. - I, P.442.
13. *Ibid.*
14. Mario Cabral e-Sa, *Goa*, P.25. M. Malgonkar, *Inside Goa*, P.38.
15. Right Rev. A. Barry, *England's Mission to India*, PP.116-17.
16. *Imperial Gazetteer of India*, Vol. - I, PP.441-42.
17. Rev. A. Barry, *England's Mission to India*, P.117.
18. M. Malgonkar, *Inside Goa*, P.57.
19. *Imperial Gazetteer of India*, Vol. - I, P.442. M. Malgonkar, *Inside Goa*, PP.49-50.
20 Mario Cabral e-Sa, *Goa*, P.27.
a) *Padroado* - In the 16th Century the Pope had conferred on the king of Portugal the right of ecclesiastical patronage (Padroado) over the archbishopric of Goa and its suffragan Sees which included the non-Portugese India and Burma.
b) *Propaganda* - With the decline of Portugese power in the 17th Century the Pope's congregation of Propaganda which was in charge of spreading Cathplicism in non catholic countries sent out Missionaries to areas allowed to Portugal. So Padroado and Propaganda representatives functioned in the same area giving rise to jurisdictional conflict. See - R. K. Renford - *The Non-Official British in India*, P.174.
21. Mario Cabral e-Sa, *Goa*, P.27.
22. S K. Chatterjee, *Missions in India, A catalogue of the Carey Library*, P.2.
23. *Imperial Gazetteer of India*, Vol.-I, P.442.
24. *Ibid.*
25. S. Neill, *A History of Christianity in India. The Beginnings to A.D. 1707*, P.190.
26. *Ibid.*, PP 179-85.
27. *Ibid*, P. 185.
28. *Ibid.*, PP.185-87.
29. *Ibid*, P.263. Sir Thomas Roe, is the English ambassador who visited Jahangir's Court.
30. *Ibid*, PP. 263-64.
31. *Ibid.*, P.266.
32. *Ibid.*, *Zizya, poll tax on non - Muslims.*
33. *Ibid*, P.257.
34. *Ibid.*, P.359.
35. *Ibid*, P.361.
36. *Ibid*, PP.361-62. In 1693 John Clerici the Theative from the Valltelline found himself in the Coromandel Coast of India.
37 *Ibid.*, P.362-63.
38. *Ibid.*, P.363.
39. S. Neill, *A History of Christianity in India The Beginnings to A. D. 1707*, P.271.
40 *Ibid.*
41. *Ibid.*
42. Rev. A. Barry, *England's Mission to India*, P.118.

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43. S. Neill, *A History of Christianity in India. The Beginnings to A. D. 1707*, P.277, P.358.
44. Right Rev. A Barry, *England's Mission to India*, P.137.
45. S. Neill, *A History of Christianity in India. The Beginnings to A.D. 1707* P.278.
46. H. Furber, *John Company at work*, P.113.
47. *Imperial Gazetteer of India*, Vol.- I, P.442.
L.S.S.O. Malley, *Modern India and the West*, P.52. (It is mentioned that the Danish Protestant Mission was established in 1706.)
Right Rev. A. Barry, *England's Mission to India*, P.137. DPM was established in 1705.
48. P. Spear, *The Nabobs*, P.122.
49. Right Rev. A. Barry, *England's mission to India*, P.120.
50. R. K. Renford, *The Non-official British in India*, P.168.
51. *Ibid*, (In 1793 the B.M.S. had sent its first missionary to start a mission at Serampore in West Bengal).
52. Rev. A. Barry, *England's mission to India*, P.137.
53. J. Richter, *A History of Missions in India*, P.133. M. E. Gibbs, The Anglican Church in India, P.29
54. W.K.L. Clarke, *A History of the S.P.C.K.*, PP.59-72.
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56. Dr. S. Mohapatra, *Unabimsa Satabdire Oriya Sahityaku Christian Missionarymananankar Abadan*, P.79.
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II

THE BEGINNING OF THE ORISSA MISSION

The beginning of a missionary enterprise in Orissa in 1822, is governed by East India Company's attitude towards evangelization. Until the renewal of the Charter Act of 1813, there were some restrictions imposed by the Company against missions in India. After 1813, when the ban on missionary work was lifted Modern Missions like the Serampore Mission of the B.M.S. of England found its way. Encouraged and assisted by the latter the first regular mission to Orissa by the G.B.M.S. began functioning in Orissa.

When the British East India Company began trading in India Europe was becoming intensely religious. The new counter reformation group produced works of Anglican devotion. Hugo Grotius of Holland produced in 1627, a work entitled De Veritate Christian Religionics which marked the beginning of eccumerical thinking.[1]

At that time the concept of missionary work was absent in the Protestant Churches. Even then Grotius imagined that "expansion of European influence in the world must be accompanied, if Europe was to be true to its great traditions, by an extension of Christian concern."[2] He had written his book with the hope that it might be useful to mariners on their voyage to far off places. For missionary purposes the book was translated into Arabic (1660) by the eminent Arabist Edward Pocock(1604-91). It appears it was also translated into Persian, Chinese and Malay.[3]

The English traders coming to India were pious Christians. Chaplains were appointed for the larger ships. Therefore the first Anglican clergymen in the East were the ship's chaplains.

In England Oliver Cromwell popularized Protestantism as a means of containing the influence of Rome. Englishmen like Richard Baxter (1615-91), and Robert Boyle were keen to spread the Gospel abroad. Boyle communicated his concern to the famous John Fell, dean of Christ Church and later bishop of Oxford (1625-86). Fell was equally enthusiastic and on 21st June, 1681, he wrote to Archbishop Sancroft of Canterbury, stating "We had attempted nothing towards the conver-

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sion of the natives, when not only the papists, but even the Hollanders had laboured herein."[4] This enthusiasm of reaching the heathens abroad through missionaries subsided after Fell died in 1686. A notable orientalist Humphery Prideacer dean of Norwich (1648-1724) wrote "An Account of the English settlements in the East Indies, together with some proposals for the propagation of Christianity in those parts of the World."[5]

In 1698, the new charter of the East India Company gave directives to maintain one minister in every garrision and superior factory and to take a Chaplain on board in every ship.[6] These ministers were required to "learn the native language of the country where they shall reside, the better to enable them to instruct the Gentoos that shall be servants or slaves of the same company or of their agents, in protestant religion.[7]

Though it was never a charter for unrestricted evangelization amongst the non christians of India it was definitely an admittance that the company has some role in discharging its spiritual responsibilities. In reality the company and the Governors and councils of the three Presidencies did not encourage missionary activity in India.[8] Therefore the chaplains took no interest in evangelistic work. The British Government was keen on consolidating its material gains in India. Certain socio-religious involvements were clearly avoided for fear of reprisals. Right Rev. A. Barry had mentioned that "the sole considerations of those who guided our Indian Government in the earlier days were first commercial peace and prosperity, and next the advance of political power. Both depended on friendly relations with the native races, Hindu and Mohammedan, in which we were at first content with a subordination almost servile, but gradually assumed equality and superiority. All modes of action which could imperil these friendly relation were sternly prohibited or discouraged; and among these religious aggression, or even religious self assertion was thought to be the most dangerous. It is, more notable that this hostility increased with our advance in power.[9] Between the years 1783 and 1813 the company showed open hostility towards introduction of Christianity and Western ideas in India and followed a policy of religious neutrality. The kind of neutrality observed was a "jealous and suspicious neutrality ostentatiously disdaining all sympathy with religious profession.[10] In the regulation of 1793, the Governor General in Council promised to preserve the laws of the Shaster and Koran, and to protect the Indians in the free exercise of their religion.[11]

The Government acted as the keeper of native religious practices. The British Government "abstained as far as possible from all social

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action, bearing from all social action, bearing however remotely, upon religious belief and practice."[12] In the 17th century, the company while dealing with India had deviated from the traditional idea of identifying the Church and nation as one. In the following century religious toleration and religious liberty were protected from interference by secular authority.[13] Religious neutrality underwent subtle changes with the passage of years. When the Company gained stability as a ruling power in India, the Englishmen shunned their indifference towards Indian problems. The policy of the Government was to develop and emphasize a consciousness of moral obligation in administering company's possessions in India.[14] The Acts passed by the British Parliament beginning with the Regulating Act of 1773, Pitt's India Act of 1784, Periodical Charter Acts of 1793, showed British Parliament's interest in controlling the company and concern for the welfare of the Indians.

The socio-religious system and the economic pattern in India during the eighteenth century showed decadence. Reforms were necessary to change the scenario. The Englishmen were divided in their views about applying the reforms in India. The Orientalists represented by eminent Englishmen, Edward Burke, Sir Charles Wilkins, Sir William Jones and William Robertson etc. professed faith on the richness of the Indian tradition and culture. They believed that "the government's duty lay in restoring the old society and fostering its development on traditional lines. They therefore desired to foster Sanskrit and Arabic learning and opposed Christian missions.[15]

The English administrators like Metcalfe, Munro, Malcolm and Elphinstone expressed the liberal view. They wished to introduce western ideas but with due respect for traditional institutions. They feared, direct assault on the Indian system might result in foreign invasion, religious upheaval or mutiny. They believed that with the spread of education and enlightenment such usages and superstitions based on ignorance would gradually disappear. These reformers disliked "redundant zeal and activity.[16]

The radicals consisting of the radicals and the utilitarians were another group who wanted changes on western lines.[17] The Evangelicals represented the religious wing of the party. They abhorred the heathenism in Indian religions which they considered to be the root cause of all evils. Therefore they wanted the "appointment and support of protestant missionaries for propagating the gospel so that prejudice might give way to reason and falsehood to truth."[18] Some of the famous Evangelists like Charles Grant, William Wilberforce, Zachary Macaulay, Henry Thornton and John Venn formed the Clapham Sect.

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Their objectives was to initiate missionary enterprise in India and to abolish slave trade. Members of this sect worked their way into the British Parliament to gain success.

The sincere efforts to evangelize India bore fruit when the missionary clause found its way into the Charter of 1813 on 2nd July, 1813 in the House of Commons. As C. Grant stated "the duty of communicating Christianity in India was now directly recognized by the Legislature and missionary exertions in future were to be placed on a more respectable footing."[19]

The restrictions on missionary work was lifted in 1813. It opened its doors to the whole world to work in India. English missionary societies as well as societies from other countries henceforth decided to operate in India.

Missionary work in Orissa also owes its existence to the Serampore Mission. This eastern Indian mission was established in 1800, at Serampore in West Bengal by the British Baptist Missionary Rev. W. Carey. He was the founder of the Baptist Missionary Society (particular Baptists) in 1792, and had led a mission to India. He was the pastor of a very ancient General Baptist Church at Malton, Northhamptonshire. The General Baptists were influenced by him.[20] Rev. Carry arrived in India in 1793.[21] It would have been easier for this Englishman to work in British occupied territories. But the Company's religious policy of neutrality did not permit him to function as a missionary.

Carey settled in the Sunderbans and underwent difficult situations as a labourer in the indigo plantation. The climate was unsuitable and he lost his wife and son.[22] Undeterred he appealed to the Home Missionary Society to send more help. In 1799, J. Marshman and William Ward joined him to create missionary history in Bengal. Carey sought the protection of the Danish government and chose to make Serampore his headquarters.[23] The Danish Governor assured him protection and provided him Danish citizenship. Permission was given to set up a press for printing scriptures into Indian languages.[24]

The Serampore Missionaries aimed at evangelizing the common people.[25] Therefore they had decided to educate them to understand the words of Christ. Evangelization through education became their real aim. Like the Jesuit Priest St. Francis Xavier they made efforts to evangelize through regional languages. The missionaries of Serampore established educational institutions, printing press, published journals, translated and printed the scriptures into various regional languages and published grammar books to facilitate oriential learning. This kind of ground work was preparatory for evangelizing the people. They

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acted as social reformers and denounced obnoxious Hindu practices like Sati, infanticide and other inhuman sacrifices.[26] The Serampore mission contributed immensely to the Indian renaissance of Bengal. In the year 1816, the General Baptists approved of a foreign mission for the propagation of Christianity.[27] In 1822, the first batch of missionaries of this Society arrived at Calcutta and stayed for some time at Serampore before leaving for Orissa. They were provided with scriptures translated into Oriya and Bengali by the Serampore brethren. Accordingly the Orissa Mission decided to evangelize on the lines of the Serampore missionaries. They begun at the grass root level, educating, reforming and conditioning the common people for evangelization.

Before the beginning of organised missionary work in Orissa (1822) it had the feel of Christianity. By the end of the 18th century the coastal districts of Orissa became maritime trade centres for European traders (English, French, Dutch, Danes and Portugese). Jaleswar (near Balasore), Balasore and Ganjam (Southern Orissa) developed as the commercial centres for the Europeans.[28] They constructed a catholic church at Jaleswar. In Ganjam there was evidence of the existence of a Wesleyan church; in 1766, a Wesleyan preacher was engaged in spreading Christianity.[29] The Baptist Missionary Society of England sent their missionaries to India in 1793, and after settling at Serampore they started translating the Gospel into various Indian Languages.[30]

In 1806, some portions of the New Testament and a few tracts translated into Oriya language were given to two natives of India. Krishna Pal, the first convert of the Baptist Mission and Sebuckram were deputed by the Serampore Missionaries to go to Orissa and distribute them between Calcutta and Puri.[31] They touched Bhadrak, Aurukpore, Pedumpore and Cuttack and finally reached Puri. On their way they met Bengali pilgrims going to Puri and conversed with some Brahmins of Bhadrak. At Puri they distributed some tracts to the pilgrims.[32] Since Puri was a centre of pilgrimage for the Hindu of India the Serampore missionaries choice fell on Puri. The missionaries would mingle with the crowd, distribute tracts, converse, preach and convince them in favour of Christ.

Therefore again in January, 1808 the missionaries of Serampore sent them to distribute tracts between Calcutta and Puri.[33] They wished to send William Robinson to preach in Orissa in 1808, but the British Government resented to the proposal of sending an English missionary.[34] In 1810, "occurred the appointment of John Peter a member of the Calcutta Church, and so eloquent that he was called 'the Robert Hall of Bengal' and a Hindu Christian. Krishna Das a man of intelli-

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gence and ability, and a deacon of the church at Serampore, to labour in Orissa for the furtherance of the Gospel."[35] It was Peter who under the patronage of the Serampore brethren reached Balasore and settled at Motiganj.[36] Peter began to preach in his house. There were some Portugese and a few Bengali and Oriya merchants amongst the audience. He also preached at market places the first one was in February, 1810 at 'Shabjeeshant.' Preaching was followed by distribution of tracts. He entered into private conversation with people on the streets. He was unable to learn the Oriya language because none were willing to teach him.[37] John Peter in a letter to William Ward dated 22nd January, 1810 requested him to send Krishna Das as an aide.[38] Krishna Das arrived on March 12, 1810 with his family to join Peter.[39] Both of them settled at Balasore and gathered a church of Europeans and Indo-British between thirty to forty members. Then they went to Cuttack and Puri to preach.[40] They reported that "Society in India is constantly changing, and the only hope of gathering a church that will remain is to gather it from the bleak wilds of heathenism."[41] Peter engaged nine Oriya Brahmins to read the scriptures so that the mistakes, in the translation of the Testament from English to Oriya can be detected.[42] But Krishna Das and Peter did not achieve much.[43] In a letter to Ward dated 22nd April 1810, he had stated about the natives. "But few of them call on us, they seem afraid to hear the Doctrines of Jesus. I preach the crucified saviour to all men, as the Lord Enables me."[44] In 1811, an Oriya named Sadhu Charan first gave up his caste. The first to be baptized were Europeans and in January 1811, Niranjan Bairagi was baptized.[45] In 1814, Peter converted at Balasore Jagannath Mukherjee,[46] a Bengali well versed in Oriya.[47] Kosalee, an Oriya tailor and Jaihari Ghose another native of Balasore were close to Peter but did not embrace Christianity for fear of being oppressed by their people.[48]

Towards the end of November, 1810 English army officers were shifted from Balasore to Cuttack. Two officers William Smith and Charles Green preached the locals and distributed tracts on their way to Cuttack. At Cuttack they continued to do so. Smith and Green spoke to the sepoys and persuaded them to meet Peter.[49] Nothing was achieved in the field of evangelization. Peter returned to Calcutta in 1817 "and the Serampore brethern were still awaiting for an opportunity of laying the abiding foundations of Christianity in Orissa."[50] After Peter the Serampore missionaries decided to persuade an European William Yates (December, 1817) to settle in Cuttack and open a mission Centre.[51] It did not materialize. The Home Committee of the B.M.S. on the basis of an appeal by the Serampore brethren sent Stephen

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Sutton who arrived in March 1818, at Serampore. The Paik rebellion broke out in 1817, in Orissa and keeping this in view the British Government refused him permission to enter Orissa. Sutton was sent to Murshidabad.[52]

There was no more attempt on the part of the Serampore missionaries to evangelize Orissa until they sent the General Baptists in February, 1822. A society for this purpose was found in 1816.

It was Rev. Claudius Buchanan, Chaplain of Fort William in Calcutta who stimulated the cause for a mission in Orissa.[53]

In 1806, this English Clergyman after visiting the Syrian Christian Churches in South India travelled through Orissa and reached Puri. At Puri he witnessed the Car Festival which took place in June, 1806.[54] "There the sight of the idols, the sacrifices and the vast masses of worshippers, while saddening him caused a mighty vision to be borne within him.[55] Shortly afterwards on his return journey while sitting on the banks of the Chilka Lake and looking towards the Jagannath temple of Puri he wrote on 23rd June, 1806. "I cherished in my thoughts the design of some Christian institution, which being fostered by Britain, my native country, might gradually undermine this baneful idolatery and put out the memory of it for ever."[56] This great spokesman of the Evangelicals exposed the darkness that had engulfed Orissa and created a favourable opinion in support of missionary work.

At home, in England, the Midland was full of missionary enthusiasts. "Kettering was the home of Fuller, Nottingham had felt the throb of Carey's passion, and the Baxterian preacher at Derby whose whole ministry was a pathetic 'call to the unconverted' pushed forward with the intrepidity of conviction and the patience of faith resolved on bringing the entire forces of the General Baptist connexion into the mission field."[57]

More credit goes to J. G. Pike who established the General Baptist Missionary Society.[58]

In 1808, at a young age he joined the General Baptists and at the annual association gatherings at Quorndon (1809) he insisted upon a foreign missionary society.[59] England was passing through hard times. The early part of the nineteenth century was a period of economic depression and political uncertainty in England. The "ghastly wounds left by the Waterloo victory were bleeding profusely. Britain was exhausted, feverish, drained, oppressed. Taxation was heavy. The National Debt had reached eight hundred million pounds. The churches were poor, and the poverty bred apathy, sluggishness, fear and hardness of hearts xxxxxx . The missionary movement dragged heavily, and had to depend largely for its resources upon the earnings, economy

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and splendid self sacrifice of the men in the foreign field. The Divine fire burnt low, except on a few hearths."[60]

Rev. Pike refused to give up. After settling at Derby he "began to urge upon the General Baptists, in season and out of season, the need for greater missionary activity. He followed closely the accounts of what the B.M.S. was accomplishing in India.[61] He organised missionary associations under individual churches, monthly prayer meetings for missions and distributed literature on the superstitions and miseries of idol worshippers.[62] Pike's ideas were accepted by the churches of Midlands and on 26th June, 1816 at the meeting of the Annual Association at Boston in Lincolnshire he appealed on behalf of the heathens "with such effecting importunity, and such invincible ardour, that opposition was silenced, difficulties vanished, and it was resolved something must be done."[63] Accordingly a resolution was passed to form a society named General Baptist Missionary Society with a purpose to serve abroad. An additional stimulus came through the Church of Nottingham, which recommended a foreign mission.[64]

Therefore in 1816, Buchanan's vision materialized into a "small community of God's People who formed themselves into the General Baptist Missionary Society, with the motto, the Gospel for every creature."[65] Rev. J. G. Pike was appointed the Secretary and Mr. R. Seals of Nottingham, the Treasurer of the New Society.[66] When this society was formed William Ward of Serampore wrote to Pike requesting him to send a missionary to help them in Bengal. The G.B.M.S. Committee accepted the offer.[67]

In September, 1819 Messrs Slater and Grover had offered their services for mission work,[68] but were adjudged unsuitable. William Bampton then Minister at Yarmouth, Norfolk offered himself to the committee for missionary work in India, in a letter dated 11th January, 1820. On 15th May, 1821, the ordination of Mr. Bampton took place at Loughbourough. The following thursday James Peggs who was chosen to go to India was ordained at Wisbeach.[69] It was decided that in consultation with Rev. Carey of Serampore the field of labour will be chosen.[70] Some choice was given in the "Instructions." Accompanied by the missionary Rev. W. Ward messrs Bampton and Peggs reached Serampore on 15th November, 1821[71] and after consulting the senior brothers at Serampore, Orissa was selected as the site of their missionary labour.[72] The members of the General Baptist Society were eager to initiate missionary work in an unoccupied region. They wished to "Convey the Gospel to some nation for whom no man cares."[73] The decision taken at Serampore arose out of some practical considerations. Assam was an unsettled state, Punjab was a remote place

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and existing jealousies of the native government made it impenetrable. The Central provinces were not suitable for missionary work.[74] On the contrary Orissa was a British province with all the benefits of British rule and British protection.[75] Orissa was occupied by the British in 1803.[76] Orissa had some strategic advantages. It was nearer to Calcutta, the seat of British power, it had a contiguity with Bengal and it was a link between the Bengal and Madras presidencies.[77]

Therefore it "had already stirred the sympathy and quicknened the zeal of the Serampore missionaries."[78] Orissa, especially Puri had been considered to be a seat of idolatry (popularised by Rev. C. Buchanan in 1806) and prior to the coming of the General Baptists, had drawn the attention of the Serampore missionaries. They had desired to station a brother in Orissa "near to the temple of Jagannath, but the invincible hostility of the British Government made it impossible."[79] Truly the missionaries intended to spread the gospel at Puri which had the largest pilgrim congregation. A low computation showed that the Jagannath attracted 1,200,000 pilgrims annually which would be suitable for evangelization.[80] More so, the Orissa station was without any missionary since the departure of Mr. Peters who had left Balasore in 1817.[81]

One more reason to support Orissa's claim as mission station was the preparation of a Christian Oriya Library by the Serampore missionaries.[82] Finally when Orissa was chosen as the venue of mission labour the first settlement was decided to be Cuttack, the principal town in the province and which was also a military station.[83]

The application to proceed to Cuttack was duly made to the British Government at Calcutta and was accepted. The previous application for allowing two missionaries to open a missionary station in Orissa had been rejected on account of the unsettled state of the area.[84] The first missionaries to Orissa spent three months at Serampore and on 23rd January, 1822 with the good will of the Serampore missionaries left for Calcutta. From there they started for Cuttack on board a ship named "Cyclops"[85] Added to the good will of the Serampore missionaries was the gift of tracts and copies of the scriptures for distribution.[86] They reached Cuttack on 12th February, 1822,[87] "only sixteen years after, Dr. Buchanan had first heard God's whisper."[88] The end of this journey marked the beginning of the Orissa mission.

Messrs Bampton and Peggs along with their wives made Cuttack their first station. Bampton shifted from Cuttack to Puri in September, 1823. He had visited this place during the annual car festival and was determined to serve in this idolatrous place. A few months later Mr. and Mrs. C. Lacey arrived at Cuttack to assist the missionaries.

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After residing at Cuttack for a short while they proceeded to Puri, but,finally settled at Cuttack to assist the ailing Mr. Peggs.

On 15th of July, 1825, Mr. Peggs left for Serampore and in the middle of 1826, he reached England. Another missionary couple Mrs. and Mr. A. Sutton arrived at Cuttack on 11th March, 1825. When Mrs. Sutton fell ill they shifted to Puri where she died.[89]

Other stations were Balasore (1827), Berhampur (1837), Sambalpur (1836), Ganjam (1840), Pipli (1849), Padripalli, Russellkonda (1861), Khondstan, Loisingha (1893), Telanpali (1897) and Aska (1899).[90] Important decisions were taken at Missionary conferences. The First conference was held at Puri in July, 1828.[91] Missionaries from U. S. known as the American Free Will Baptist joined the British Baptists in Orissa in 1836. They acted in close co-operation in their missionary endeavour.

In 1836, three American Baptist Missions were established in India. They were in Bengal - Orissa, Assam and South India.[92] It was a period most suitable for missionary labour. The Governor General Bentinck's social reforms had shown the government's concern for a welfare state. Indian Christians were allowed to hold offices in private and government concerns. This had been previously forbidden by the East India Company who feared political and religious reprisals. Civil service was thrown open to all, irrespective of creed, caste or social background. Until this time, the Hindus had enacted laws debarring Christians from inheriting their ancestral property. It acted as a deterrent to conversion. These laws were liberalised. The American missionaries thought they could pursue their interests when the British attitude was changing under the new colonial policy of 1850.[93] The decision to establish a Bengal—Orissa Mission in 1836 was predetermined due to the initiatives of the G.B.M.S. of England and also due to the singular labour of a G.B.M.S. missionary, Rev. A. Sutton working in Orissa.

A. Sutton was responsible for establishing a foreign missionary society amongst the American Baptists who were denominated the American Free Will Baptists.[94] The Baptists in England lacked sufficient resources to "take advantage of the opportunities in Bengal and Orissa. There was a feeling in 1825, that Midnapore and Balasore both growing communities should have a Christian mission."[95] In August, 1821, a committee meeting of the G.B.M.S., it was decided that the Secretary should write a letter accompanied by the Society's Reports appealing to the fellow Baptists in America to fight heathenism existing in Orissa. Rev. Peggs presumed that this letter may have influenced the American Baptists to work in Orissa.[96] More impetus was given to this appeal when Rev. A. Sutton's American wife gave details about the ex-

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istence of a sect known as the Free Will Baptist in U. S. A. They were alien in doctrine and belief to the General Baptists of England. They had no foreign missions any where in the world.[97] Rev. A. Sutton on his visits to Puri "was so impressed with the people that he wrote a letter seeking to enlist the support of the Free Will Baptists in America."[98] This letter was addressed to the Free Will Baptists. Mrs. Sutton did not remember the address of the editor and the letter was pigeon holed. Luckily a few months later she received a package from home wrapped in a copy of the "Morning Star" and then Mr. Sutton's appeal found space in the issue of 13th April, 1832, of that paper.[99] Thereafter the Free Will Baptist Foreign Mission Society was organised at North Parsonfield, Maine in the autumn of 1832 and chartered by the Maine Legislature on 29th January, 1833. In March, Elder John Buzzell, the Editor of the Morning Star was chosen its President.[100] Incidentally Mr. and Mrs. Sutton visited U. S. A. in 1833 first "with a view to the restoration of his health," and secondly "with a hope of awakening the attention of his brethren to that part of the world to the importance of missionary exertion.[101] While recovering in U.S.A. he appealed to the Baptist churches to contain heathenism in Orissa. This led to the formation in 1834, of a Foreign Missionary Society. For more than a year Mr. Sutton remained its Secretary and "Travelling Agent."[102] During his stay he toured different places in U.S.A. and emphasised upon his cause. On a bright June day in 1833, he spoke to a group of 3,000 near Lake Winnipesaukee in New Hampshire and used these words - "As I arise to speak, I seem to see the millions of India with bended knee and tearful eyes saying - Sir plead our cause - plead it effectually."[103] His appeal was well received.

In September, 1833, Sutton left America as the leader of a missionary party of twenty male and females. It was the largest missionary company from America leaving for the Eastern Hemisphere.[104]

The first two missionaries of the society who reached Orissa were Rev. Messrs J. Phillips and Eli Noyes. They spent six months in the company of the General Baptists of England.[105]

Rev. Phillips and his wife for some time resided with John Goadby, a G.B.M. at Balasore. Mr. Noyes taught for some months in the English school at Cuttack.[106] A meeting was held at Cuttack presided over by Sutton to select a station for the American missionaries[107] and Sambalpur was chosen[108] unanimously. They settled in Sambalpur in 1836, but abandoned it in 1838, and the same year they occupied Balasore, a station of the General Baptist missionaries.[109] Though the Baptist Missionary Society from England had started functioning in Orissa as early as 1822, they made room for the Free Will American Baptists.

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Stations in Bengal - Orissa were opened with resident missionaries in the following order, Balasore (1838), Jellasore (1840) (Orissa), Midnapore 1844 (Bengal), Santipore 1852 (Orissa), Bhimpore 1873 (Bengal), Dantoon 1877 (Bengal), Chandballi 1887 (Orissa), Contai 1893, Bhadrak 1900 (Orissa) and Kharagpur 1894 (Bengal). In all these places the wives of the missionaries worked for the Indian women and children. From the very beginning the wives of the American missionaries worked in the mission fields to support their men.[110] The Americans confined themselves to the Balasore district and worked mainly amongst the Santals. For approximately seventy five years these denominational group of American Free Will Baptists carried on with their foreign missions. In July, 1910 at their conference in Ocean Park, Maine they decided to transfer their Bengal - Orissa missionary field to the American Baptists Foreign Mission Society.[111]

"Quarterly" and "Yearly" meetings of the town meeting types were organised by the Bengal—Orissa mission to discuss matters relating to the mission. Appropriately it was named the Christian Service Society by the Bengal—Orissa Baptist Yearly meeting.[112] The Secretary of this Society for the first twelve years was Rev. R. K. Sahu, who spent most of his early career in the educational programme of the mission. He was succeeded by Rev. Sushil Bepari.[113] The General Baptists sent their reports to the Secretary of the foreign mission of the G.B.M.S.[114] They also conducted annual conferences mostly at Cuttack and at times at Berhampur.

Compared to the Baptists of U.S.A. and England other missionary societies did not do much work in Orissa during the pre-independence period. The British Baptists had the largest area of missionary work in Orissa.

The Roman Catholic Missionaries of Orissa were under the jurisdiction of the diocese of Vizagapatam and Arch-diocese of Calcutta. Stations at Cuttack and Ganjam and Balasore was the suffragan of the arch diocese of Calcutta.[115] The Roman Catholics had their missions in Cuttack (1845),[116] Balasore (1866) and Nagalakata in the tributary State of Mayurbhanj (1879).[117] They also had centres in Ganjam in places like Surada (1853), Dantililingy (1854), Berhampur (1855), Kattingia (1883), Gopalpur (1896) and Mondasoro (1900).[118] The Roman Catholics built a Church in Cuttack in 1858-59 which was enlarged in 1885.[119] Rev. Father Sapart presided over the Roman Catholic Mission at Balasore.[120] He was a Belgian Jesuit and was assisted by three Carmelite nuns—a Scottish woman, a German and Belgian.[121] A chapel was constructed at Balasore due to the efforts of this father.[122] The priests of this mission were sent from Spain by the Congregation of the Missionaries of Saint Vincent de Paul.[123]

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The Canadian Baptist Telugu Mission established in the year 1868, had its work stretched from the Krishna river in Southern India to Orissa and in Jeypore country.[124] This Mission had its headquarters at 223 Church Street in Toronto, Canada[125] and had worked for seventy six years amongst the Telugu speaking population in Southern Ganjam. In the beginning of the twentieth century they started working amongst the Oriyas of this place. These Oriyas were mainly the lower castes, tribals and untouchables of this region known as Pans and Sabaras. The name of this mission was Sabar Oriya Mission.[126] In Southern Orissa two churches had been established by two native Oriya preachers of the B.M.S., one at Akulatampara in 1873, and the other at Parlakhemundi in 1891. Later on these two stations were looked after by the Canadian Baptists.[127] The Parlakhemundi station was reorganised by the Canadian Baptists in 1892. Rev. S. C. Freeman was a missionary for this station from 1902 - 12. His wife followed him and worked from 1906-12. Rev. A. Glendinning and his wife worked since 1902. The other women missionaries were Miss M. E. Harrison from 1896, and Miss E. E. Gaunce from 1906-1912.[128] The Rayagada station was opened by the Canadian Baptists in 1909. Though it was a part of Vizagapatam district under the Madras Presidency it became a part of the Koraput district of the State of Orissa in 1936. Rev. Tedford and Miss Elliott did commendable work for this station.[129] The missionary for the Savaras was stationed at Parlakhemundi.[130] The Canadian Baptists survived in these parts with the help of Canadian funds and help provided by the Telugu Churches.[131]

The German missionaries famous as the Schleswig - Holstein Evangelical Lutheran mission started a bit late in 1882, amongst the Oriya speaking people of Koraput,[132] with stations at Koraput (1882), Kotpad (1885), Jeypore (1886), Nowrangpur (1889) and Parvatipur (1889).[133] Its pioneer missionaries were Rev. H. Buchannan and Rev. E. Pohl occupied Koraput in 1882, but abandoned in favour of Salur because of the fever that attacked there, and it was occupied in 1885, by the same mission. For the next five years the missionary work progressed satisfactorily at central places like Jeypore, Nowrangpur and Gunupur. Mission houses were built at Rayagada, Bissam Cuttack, Nandapur, Lakshmipur and Doliamba. During and after the first World War these German missionaries were absent in these areas and work was carried on by the American Lutheran Mission. When the German missionaries returned in 1925, they resumed their work.[134] In the early forties of the twentieth century, the Rayagada and Gunupur divisions were called East Jeypore and came under the supervision of the Danish Church. They had opened their mission station in 1912.[135] This East

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Jeypore Mission of the Danish Missionary Society had stations at Rayagada, Bissam Cuttack and Gunupur.[136]

The Anglican Church Mission began their missionary work at Pradhanpali, Rourkela, Hatibari, Rajgangpur, Parandihi Rakshi and its nearby areas. This missionary group was associated with education, evangelization and providing medical facilities to the poor.[137]

The Evangelical Missionary Society started its work in Mayurbhanj in 1896. The members were certainly inspired by Mrs. Gilbert, who visited Mayurbhanj during her missionary tour of Bengal. She entrusted the evangelization work to Kate Robert Allanby. She came to Mayurbhanj from Brisbane (Australia). She learnt Oriya and worked till her death in 1931, in Baripada.[138] This mission was useful to the people of Baripada. The Raja of Mayurbhanj, Maharaja Sriram Chandra Bhanja had given land in Baripada for missionary purpose. The missionaries of this society were associated with the State Leper Asylum in the outskirts of Baripada.[139] This society had stations at Baripada and Rairangpur. The Church of God had its station at Cuttack.[140]

In 1938 the Menenite Mission decided to look after the six churches of the Phuljhar area in Western Orissa run by the British Baptist. The Christian workers in this region faced retrenchment, therefore the Baptists decided to handover these Churches to the Menenite Mission which was active in this region.[141]

The Christian missions in the Sundergarh district worked mostly amongst the tribals of this region. As early as 1870, the Lutheran mission started their activities in the Raiboga police station. A branch of the German Evangelical Mission began its work since 1899. Its headquarters was at Kumarkela. The Roman Catholic Jesuit Mission with headquarters near Ranchi in Bihar also claimed to have worked amongst the Oraons of Sundergarh.[142] The Lutheran Mission with headquarters at Chakradarpur[143] and the National Missionary Society with headquarters at Jharsuguda worked in the Sambalpur district.[144]

Amongst all the missionary societies working in Orissa the pioneer societies like G.B.M.S. and the A.F.W.B.M.S. worked in close co-operation.

The most harmonious feeling appeared to have existed between the missionaries of the two societies. They acted as fellow labourers though they acted distinctly.[145] They decided upon mutually in selecting their stations. At times they attended each others annual conferences. These two groups did not interact with the Roman Catholic Missionaries of Orissa.

The British Baptists were against slavery which was very popular amongst the North Americans. Slavery was compared to the heinous

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practices such as human sacrifice,thugee and prostitution carried out by young girls in the Jagannath temple at Puri. The American missionaries were also against the practice of slavery. J. G. Pike had written about these American Missionaries :-

> "they are men of a different class and sent by men, who advocate the abolition of the wicked system, which fixes such a stigma on various bodies falsely called Christian Churches. This being the case we acknowledge them as brethren and fellow labourers in India."[146]

Aims and objectives of the Missionaries

Christianizing Orissa was the sole purpose of missionary work. Rev. C. Lacey had conveyed their intentions in words, - "The work that is nearest our hearts is the instruction and conversion of the poor Oriyas by preaching of the Gospel."[147] On the spiritual front they believed in undermining the traditional socio-religious belief on their way to conversion. They acted and spoke vehemently against idolatry, against Sati, female infanticide and human sacrifice. They clashed with the British Government on principles of idolatry. On the practical side they put Christian ethics into action. They educated the illiterate, opened asylums for the poor and the destitute, tended the sick and fought against poverty and other social evils. The spiritual and the welfare work was very well blended in their missionary deal with Orissa.[148]

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wife remarried the widow of J. Coleman in 1826. - D. M. Albaugh, P.63, J. Peggs, P.207.

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III

MISSIONARY STATIONS IN ORISSA

Before the British conquest of Orissa in 1803, the Marhattas ruled Orissa.

During the Marhatta rule, Orissa consisted of two political division, the coastal areas known as Mughalbandi and the hilly states or Garhjats.[1] The Mugalbandi area was directly ruled by the Marhattas and the Garhjats consisting of 24 tributary chiefs who payed tributes to the Marhatta government.[2] When the British took over from the Marhattas, the latter received the three coastal districts of Cuttack, Puri and Balasore and sixteen tributary mahals (Garhjat states). In 1837, their numbers increased to eighteen.[3] The British laws and regulations were not enforced in these tributary mahals and only the coastal districts were under the direct administration of the British Government.[4] In 1804, the Magistrate of Cuttack had some nominal jurisdiction over the tributary mahals. In 1814, a superintendent was appointed for proper management of these states.[5] And finally in 1905, these princely states were known as the feudatory States and the British Government had deputed a political agent to each of these States to assist the chiefs.[6]

In the beginning of British rule in Orissa, it was included in the Bengal Presidency and its government framed policies and supervised the administration of Orissa.[7] For administrative convenience the coastal areas under direct British rule were divided into northern and southern divisions with the river Mahanadi as the boundary between the two. A Judge-cum-Magistrate-cum-Collector of land revenue was appointed for each division. In 1805, these two divisions were amalgamated and placed under one Collector. Its headquarters were at Puri until 1816. Then it shifted to Cuttack.[8] The Regulation of 1818, brought some changes. A new office of the 'Commissioner in Cuttack' was established who remained the chief administrative officer for Orissa for more than a century.[9]

Orissa under the British in the 19th century did not include all the Oriya speaking regions. The British conquest of India was based on political considerations and military strategy. In course of these conquests, Orissa was carved out for administrative purpose without at-

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tending to socio-cultural and lingusitic aspect. As one of the major linguistic communities of the Indian sub-continent the Oriyas were placed under different administrative jurisdiction.[10] The process of amalgamating the Oriyas with Orissa was completed in 1949.[11]

Keeping in view the constant changes in the territorial limits of Orissa the word 'Orissa' in a missionary sense is "descriptive of the whole of the territories of India inhabited by the people who speak the Oriya language; and not these people who reside in the administrative division of Bengal. The dimensions of the wider areas embrace 60,000 sq. miles, occupied by not less than eight millions of people, allocated for Government purposes chiefly to Bengal, but also in part of Madras in the South, and to the central Provinces in the West."[12] Rev. Sutton therefore wanted Orissa to be distinguished between Orissa in its largest sense and when referred to in its modern limited extent.[13]

The British Baptists chose the civil divisions and civil stations for missionary stations. The missionary with his assistants made the mission station its headquarters and used to superintend his whole field of labour.[14] The policy of choosing mission stations and proper distribution of missionary force followed in respect of one mission was rejected while applying the same to the other. Certain considerations of importance like the episcopal aspect, location of great towns, statistical returns, means of communication, civil and religious condition of the people were taken into account before deciding a mission station.[15]

In the princely states, where the British rules and regulations were not in force, the missionaries could not continue with their work effectively.[16] The Christian settlements were scattered throughout these feudatory states. The principal centres were in the States of Athgarh, Gangpur, Mayurbhanj, Nilgiri and Patna.[17] Some of the petty landlords were lenient towards the christians and allowed settlement. In some states the Zamindars prohibited any kind of conversion to Christianity. The missionaries also did not receive any encouragement from the Company's government for their efforts to settle in Orissa. They survived on charity from local Anglo-Indians and on help from abroad. The Government was ignorant of their activities. On the eve of the occupation of Orissa it openly declared to be the protector of the famous Hindu shrine, the Jagannath temple and patronized the continuance of pilgrim tax. The company did not form a distinct policy towards the missionaries. On the other hand the British administration in Orissa were silent promoters of Christianity. There was not any open declaration favourable to evangelization but a passive assistance of non-interference in their missionary efforts. This explains the growth and development of Christian settlement preferably in the civil divisions of British occupied territories in Orissa.

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The General Baptist Missionary Society had four principal stations at Cuttack, Berhampur (Ganjam), Pipli and Sambalpur (C.P.) with several important out stations. Stations were establishd at Balasore in 1827, and at Midnapore in 1836, which were made over to the American Free Will Baptists.[18] The British and the American Baptists co-operated and mutually decided about choosing and establishing their own mission stations.

Cuttack was the first station of the Orissa Mission of the British Baptists and it was permanently occupied. Within the first twenty years of the establishment of the Orissa Mission (1822-42) other stations were occupied, abandoned and reoccupied. A station was established at Puri, forsaken and reoccupied twice. Balasore was occupied for the third time, Midnapore was abandoned thrice, Ganjam, Sambalpur, Balasore and Calcutta had been occupied and given up once.[19]

Cuttack was ideally situated between the banks of the rivers Mahanadi and Kathjori. It had been the seat of power of the native princes, the Muslims, the Marhattas and the British. Since the British victory over the Marhattas in 1803, Cuttack became the chief civil and military station of the province. In 1822, it had a population of 40,000. In this city the earliest British Baptist missionaries "took up their abode, with the hope of here establishing the first Christian Church, which in the fulness of time, should become the mother of thousands and fill the length and breadth of the whole land."[20]

The majority of the population of Cuttack district were Hindus and Mohammedans with a few Christians and a larger proportion of hill tribes and other aboriginal people.[21]

The first batch of missionaries Rev. J. Peggs and W. Bampton were accompanied by Abraham, a servant. On 12th July, 1822 he was engaged in public work amongst the natives of Orissa. Another help was John Sunder who worked as a Christian teacher in the English Charity school. His wife, mother and sister later on joined him and assisted him in the Cuttack Mission.[22]

In the beginning the missionaries' lack of knowledge of the Oriya language proved to be a handicap for them. Therefore evangelization started with a handful of Europeans and Eurasians who were in Orissa since the rule of the East India Company.

The first sabbath was conducted by Bampton in English and translated by Abraham into Hindustani.[23]

The first Church at Cuttack began with seven members. Amongst them were firve East Indians—D'Souza, D'Santos, Rennell, George and Baptist. The descendants of D'Souza, Rennell and Baptist settled in Cuttack and remained members of the Cuttack Church Union.[24] In

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March, 1822 the English Sunday School was opened for European and Eurasian children.[25]

The Cuttack station had three resident agents of the mission, a missionary in charge of the native preaching department, another in charge of the schools, asylums, translation and a tutor for the academy for training young ministers. This office belonged to Mr. Sutton and then to Mr. Buckley. And finally there was a superintendent for the printing office managed by Mr. W. Brooks.[26]

In the late twenties natives gradually became converts.

According to the Census of 1872, Christians were 2,314 in number. Out of this, 403 were Europeans and Eurasians and the balance 1,911 were native Christians of the Cuttack district. It also included children who were rescued from the famine of 1865-66. If the famine orphans are excluded Christianity seems to have made negligent progress in the field of conversion.[27]

Christian settlements were established by the Cuttack Baptist Mission to rehabilitate native converts who were ostracized by their people. These little colonies lived entirely by agriculture, while the town christians got employment as government servants or in connection with the mission or as menial servants or day labourers. In general, the native Christians managed enough to lead a decent life. There were isolated instances of affluence as well as some who were to be assisted out of the Mission Funds.[28] The native Christians were despised by the Hindus and Muslims. There were a few who earned respect because of their hgh moral character, wealth and official position.[29]

In due course the English Church Union and the Oriya Church Union was established but they worked in close co-operation.

Since 1890, the Cuttack Oriya Baptist Union functioned as an independent organisation. Rev. Shem Sahoo, Rev. Doli Patra, Rev. Ananta Dash, Rev. Jayananda Singh, Rev. Gyanendra Singh and Rev. E.R. Lazaras were its distinguished members. People like Anam Chandra Das, Solomon Das, Mukund Das, Samson Chandra Das, Akshaya Kumar Das, Mihirlal G. Jackak, Dr. Lakshmi Rout also worked for this Union.[30]

The Cuttack Union had established the Indian Auxiliary Mission[31] and I.B.M.S. or the Indian Baptist Missionary Society and had undertaken some of its responsibilities. The Utkal Christian Church Union was also established due to the initiative of the Cuttack Church Union. Their efforts in preaching the gospel is commendable.[32]

There were a few Telugu Baptists in Cuttack. For their convenience a separate Telugu Baptist Union was formed. Mr. Das Antarvedi, a retired army personnel was the founder of the Cuttack Telugu Baptist Union in 1869. In the beginning the service was conducted in Pension

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Lane. When the new Baptist Church was established at Mission Road then the service in Telugu was conducted in the old Church at Tinkonia Bagicha. For quite some time that building was known as the Telugu Baptist Church. Finally this Union was dissolved and the Telugu Christians became members of the Oriya Baptist Union.[33] The Roman Catholic Mission was established in Cuttack town in 1845. The mission had a convent and a church. The church was built in 1858-59 and was enlarged in 1885. It had an orphanage for Eurasian girls.[34]

The Christian Villages

The first converts to Christianity in Cuttack faced social ostracism and persecution from their families and in their own village. To overcome these difficulties it was decided to have separate Christian settlements for the native Christians. For this the missionaries acquired land and provided them with money, seed grains etc. to start with.

Christian settlements aimed at regrouping the converts together who were scattered here and there. As they were outcastes they will be able to assist each other and will form "a visible body of people" and their "place of residence will be known."[35] Rev. J. Peggs wrote- "It is a pleasing stage of the progress in a mission where the converts can come out from among the ungodly and be separate and like Israel of old dwell alone and not be reckoned among the nations of Idolaters around."[36] In 1933, three christian settlements were established in Cuttack named Christianpore, Soceitypore and Laceysahi.[37]

In later years some christian villages in and around Cuttack grew up. These were located at Peyton Sahi, Makarbag, Tulispur, Stewart Patna, Sidheswar Sahi and Kesharpur.[38] When the inmates (boys and girls) of the missionary orphanages reached their youth and were ready to live indpendently, the necessity arose to rehabitiate them. With this intention these villages were established.

The establishment of christian villages in the midst of heathen population marked a decisive inroad upon idolatrous existence. It opened an opportunity for exhibiting the many facts of social influences of the gospel. These were known as colonies which had scope for large christian settlements. Four such colonies were Christianpoor, Khundittar, Bhogerpoor and Choga.[39]

In the tributary mahal of Athgarh, the Baptist Mission at Cuttack had obtained a lease of ten acres of lands from the Raja of Athgarh near a village called Chhagan. Three more christian villages, Parbatia, Kaptikiri and Arakhtangar also grew up. The inhabitants of these settlements were agriculturists, as ryots of the Raja with homesteads on

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mission lands. Between the years 1830 and 1840, the British Baptists were able to convert quite a few people of this state to Christianity.[40] This Athgarh state was close to Cuttack and the members of the Cuttack Mission station were active in this state due to the receptive nature of the Rajah towards Christianity.

The Christian society that developed in these christian villages did not observe casteism. The evils of a caste-ridden society familiar to Hindus was absent in these dwellings.[41] Some Hindus also preferred to become part of the Christian community in the village without seeking baptism. They gave up idolatrous practice and cohabited with the native Christians.[42] The early christian settlements were possible due to contributions of land and money made by some earnest Christians. In course of time Mandapara (Macmillan Patna), Jambu (Hough Patna) grew up as Christian settlements.[43] A missionary sub—station was opened at Jajpur which was subsequently closed and re-opened.[44] A small town like Kendrapara had been visited by missionaries and for some time they had a station. Later on it was closed.[45] In the context of missionary stations it is worth remembering that Europeans like Mr. Macmillan and Mr. Hough enabled the missionaries to open stations at such places which otherwise they would have never thought of.

The city of Cuttack was the capital of the district bearing the same name. The city was regarded as the central station and the rest of the areas of Cuttack were divided into four sub-stations from the missionary point of view. The first was the northern sub-station at Khundittar which included the popular thanas of Jajpur, Urrackpoor and other native states with a population of 400,000 souls. The second or eastern division included the thanas of Praharajpoor, Hariharpoor, Teerun, Kendrapara, Kullon and Pattamundai with a population of 500,000 or 600,000. This particular sub-station was considered to be important and was frequently visited by the missionaries from Cuttack proper and also by native assistants.[46]

The third sub-station was fixed at Pipli, a place midway between Cuttack and Puri. This station was formed in 1849, and included Puri, Khurda and the whole of the southern civil and administrative division of Cuttack. The fourth sub-station was located towards the west of Cuttack, Banki and Kantilo, on the banks of the Mahanadi. Though thinly populated it offered opportunities for missionary operations.[47]

ANGUL - Fifty miles, north-west of Cuttack was Angul where a handful of Muslim peddlars became converts.[48] In 1881, Rev. J. G. Pike on his way to Sambalpur had preached here. Gradually native preachers of Cuttack had visited this place. Karim Khan, was the first Muslim

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convert. He was a wanderer and during the course of his journeys had tried to influence the people. A Hindu girl Sashika had helped him in this respect.[49] In 1900, the Deputy Commissioner of Angul Mr. M. E. M. Smith encouraged the christians from Cuttack to come and settle in Angul. In 1915, some of them were provided with land. The next year the Christian Union (Mandali) was formed and a Church was constructed.[50] Sabalbhanga and Machchakuta, the two christian settlements were under the Cuttack Christian Council.[51]

PURI - * The celebrated seat of idolatry and Hinduism in Orissa as well as in India was the second missionary station of the G.B.M.S. Though the missionaries fought a heroic battle against idolatry they could not have a permanent station there.

After establishing a station at Cuttack, the first missionaries had three alternatives for their second station, Midnapore, Balasore and Puri. The Serampore missionaries had suggested Midnapore which was formerly occupied by them. Balasore was the place where Mr. Peters had also worked with some success. "But after considerable discussion, and having consulted their experienced friends at Serampore, they resolved upon attempting to form their second station at "Pooree—the site of the great temple of the celebrated Jaggannath."[52] Rev. Sutton had also mentioned—"As the great temple of Jagannath gave eclat to the mission, it is not surprising that they sought to establish one of their posts in its immediate vicinity."[53]

The centre was opened at Puri with an impression that a blow "at idolatry here will prove a blow at the root."[54] They wanted, Jugernaut, the great, the obscene, the bloody Jugernaut, must fall, long, perhaps will be the struggle and fierce the conflict, but he must fall, and the place which knows him now will know him no more for ever."[55] Jagganath as an institution was viewed as the greatest challenge to Christianity.[56]

The first Baptist Missionary at Puri was Rev. W. Bampton.[57] He was one of the earliest of the Orissa Missionaries and had shifted from Cuttack to Puri in September, 1823. He had visited this place during the annual Ruth Jatra and was therefore determined to operate in such a sensitive place of idolatry. Bampton's writings dated 26th September, 1823 showed he was cautious in approaching the heathens—"I mean to step cautiously. A spider will not provoke a strong fly, recently entangled, immediately to use all its strength, but by prudent forbearance secures the prey, which a direct attack might have been

* Puri is regarded by the Hindus as Holy - contained 30,000 inhabitants. In the town there were fifty temples.

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the means of liberating. May piety and courage, combined with wisdom and perseverance even distinguish us and all your missionaries."[58] Rev. Sutton had written about Bampton and his works in Puri—"He was a goodman, and full of the Holy Ghost and of faith. Prudently did he commence and zealously did he prosecute his self-denying labours at this station, till he furnished his course, after nine years of extraordinary toil and patient endurance."[59] "But in Puri despite the heroic efforts of Bampton the response to the vision tarried."[60]

In 1825 Rev. A. Sutton joined Bampton followed by Mr. Cropper.* The latter also began his mission in the early months of 1828, and had a short tenure because he died of fever on 8th December, 1828.[61] Rev. C. Lacey also occupied this station for a temporary period. After Bampton's death in 1830, Sutton revived his missionary work in Puri and stayed until 1833, when ill health forced him to abandon this field. Rev. Cropper had mentioned about Sutton's experience in Puri-"June 7 (1828)—I have received a letter from brother Sutton, he says his work is very uphill."

"Indeed preaching the Gospel to Hindoos is uphill work. Some have called Popery Satan's masterpiece, these were not acquainted with Hindooism. The Papists are Priest ridden, but what are they when compared with the Hindoos? A Hindoo will eat the dirt that a Brahmin treads on; drink the water with greediness in which his toe has been dipped; fall down before him and hide his face in the dust and worship him, and call him his god, his all. Then that cursed caste—the doctrine of fatalism—the peculiar adoption of their own religion to their carnal feelings. These circumstances connected with their awful depravity, render preaching to them like preaching to packs of wolf."[62] Those who preached the Gospel at this station were required to be "wise as serpents and harmless as doves" to be gentle, ready to teach and be patiently meek while instructing those who oppose them.[63]

Since Puri was a major pilgrim centre one thing favourable about this station was that 'on account of so many people coming, one can do much in enlightening the country, without going out of the town',[64] but two things against it were that the people were more wicked here than any where else and they were keen to continue idolatry for "by this craft they have their wealth."[65]

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* Mr. Cropper was ordained at the Baptist meeting house Archdeacon Lane, Leicester, April, 25, 1827. He left for India on board "The Clyde" and reached Calcutta on 3rd Nov., 1827 - proceeded to Orissa early in 1828, accompanied by Messrs Lacey, Sutton and their wives.- J.C.E., Orissa Baptist Mission, PP.356-357.

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Rev. Sutton wrote of "fighting with the beast, of meekly instructing those that oppose themselves, and of having to endure hours of deafening shouts of victory to Jagannath Opposition was bitter and after Sutton left, no missionary lived at Puri for some years, though preaching bands went there at festival times."[66] In the month of June, 1849 a group of nine European missionaries and few native assistants visited Puri during the annual Car Festival to preach the pilgrims.[67]

In later years of missionary operation Rev. C. Lacey's son R. L. Lacey was an active missionary in this place. After him Rev. Davis worked as a missionary at Puri.[68]

There was no Church building at Puri until Rev. Davis collected contributions from his home, Wales and constructed a Church inside the mission premises. After the construction he took retirement and Fakir Sahoo became the colporteur. Twenty- five years after the establishment of this station Rev. A. Collins came as a missionary. With the help of Abraham Pedini he did a lot for the people of Puri.[69] Gradually "some converts came out round about Pipli, a big village midway between Puri and Cuttack on this Pilgrim Road, and a Church was formed there in 1840."[70]

PIPLI - is a village situated on the Jagannath Trunk Road, twenty-five miles from Puri and twenty-seven miles from Cuttack. The village contained a colony of Christians, belonging to the Baptist Missionary Society under the charge of the missionary at Puri.[71] Pilgrims on their return visit to Puri settled at Pipli and formed a Christian settlement. Gopinath Mohanty was one of them.[72] Its original name was Pimpal.

In the Report of the Society for the year 1840, the town Pipli was mentioned as a native station. It reported - "At the last conference in Orissa, it was determined to occupy this place as a regular though subordinate station. xxxx The neighbourhood is populous; several markets and mellas, or superstitious festivals are held in the vicinity, and the place is excellently situated for meeting with pilgrims on their way to or from Pooree."[73] The other consideration was that it was near the ancient city of Bhubaneswar, famous for its numerous temples. Roughbourdass had a house and a land at Pipli which he offered to the missionaries for a native preacher. Doitaree was appointed as a preacher for the year 1840.[74] At the Conference in 1842, the native preachers Doitaree and Luckindas were appointed to work[75] successively at such a station. Earlier Rev. Bampton and C. Lacey while working in Puri had visited the town of Pipli, the brethren however included Puri in their field of labour and spent several months of the year there.

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Mr. J. Hough donated Rs.1,500 and established a Christian village in Pipli in 1848. Subsequently a school was established in 1849, and a Church building was constructed the following year. An orphanage was also established in 1866, to rehabilitate the rescued children from the famine. The children from this orphanage[76] established Church Unions at Bailipara, Khurda and Ashrayapur etc.*

In the beginning the school and the mission station was run by the Baptist missionaries. Later on it was managed by the native Christians. Mr. Prasanna Kumar Mohanty was the first native Christian in charge of the Pipli station. He worked in this capacity for forty years.[77] In this station there were four Christian settlements, the first one being established by Rev. C. Lacey in 1848. It was named Puruna Sahi or Bada Sahi. Later on other settlements like Adarshapur, Pratyashapur and Bharasapur were established. Chinna Ji Jachak (a descendant of Ramachandra Ji Jachak) who worked as an inspector of Police at Pipli for many years had donated his house and the surrounding areas to the mission. This was named as Bharasapur village.[78]

In the beginning the Pipli station had a native preacher as its manager. In 1849, Rev. C. Lacey was in charge of this station. He was succeeded by Messrs William Bailey, George Taylor, John Orissa Goadby, William Brooks, William Mills, W. H. Thomas, Bailey, R. L. Lacey and other missionaries.

Churches and Christian Villages in Puri

The Catholic churches in the district were at Puri, Jatni and Bhubaneswar. The Protestant churches were situated at Bhubaneswar, Pipli, Puri, Khurda, Jatni, Bahilipada (Pipli Police Station), Ashrayapur (Bhubaneswar Police Station), Minchinpatna (Chandaka Police Station) and Banamalipur (Balipatna Police Station).[79]

Most of the Christian villages in Puri began as settlements to rehabilitate the inmates of the Pipli Orphanage. Banamalipur, Bailipara, Ashrayapur (Jamukoli) were some of them.[80] In the year 1873, the residents of the Pipli Orphanage settled in Khurda and a Christian Union (Mandali) was formed which was a part of the Cuttack Christian Union. A Pujari (Brahmin pundit) named Bhagaban Das embraced Christianity and had donated all his property in favour of this station. In 1905, this village was transferred to the hands of the missionaries at Puri.

* A small dispensary was opened to look after the sick pilgrims as well as the members of the orphanage and christian villages.

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Other villages Minchinpatna*, Mangalpur** and Jatni*** though closer to Puri were managed by the Cuttack Christian Union.[81]

Banpur - In 1912, a missionary station was opened at Banpur. Majority of the converts of this area were the untouchables and lower caste pans. Therefore when these people lost interest the station was closed.[82]

Talada was another village near Kakatpur in Puri district. In 1930, the Puri district Church Union had attempted to convert the people from this village. Due to unavoidable circumstances the station in this village was closed.[83]

The Hindu population of the Puri district as on January, 1872 was 96.1 per cent of the total population, that of Muslims was 1.5 per cent of the population and of Christians was 0.1 per cent of the total district population. The Buddhists were only eight in number. The numerical strength of the Christians was 576 out of which 24 were Europeans and Eurasians. The Christian community mainly flourished in the Christian colony at Pipli under the care of the Baptist Mission.[84]

Between the years 1872-1921 the population of the Christians in Puri had almost doubled. According to the census of the Puri district for the year 1921, the Hindus were 97.7 per cent of the population, the Muslims were 2.10 per cent of the population, Christians were 1,286 in number out of which 1,009 were native Christians.[85] The census of 1971, showed the Christians in Puri district to be 3,275.[86]

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* Minchinpatna was named after Mr. H. Minchin Pegu, the judge of Cuttack who had given Rs.1,500 towards the rehabilitation of the inmates of the Cuttack orphanage. Situated towards the North-West of Khurda the village was established in 1871. The Indian Report of the B.M.S. in India and Orissa for 1892, P.11. The Indian Report of the B.M.S. in North India for 1891, P.80.

** Mangalpur was the name given to a Christian settlement by Rev. Shem Sahu. Christians of the Mangalpur village were members of the Minchinpatna Church Union. - The Indian Report of the B.M.S. in North India and Orissa for 1896, P.11.

*** Jatni assumed importance when it became a rail junction and was renamed Khurda Road. Missionaries from Cuttack and Ganjam frequented this place and rendered Church service to the European Christians. From 1926, onwards Sunday service was available to them by the Utkal Church Union. Rev. H. Collins had started the service in English and a preacher from Bailipara was posted there. Rev. Collins had also constructed a Church at Khurda Road.

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Balasore

Balasore was the third mission station of the British Baptist missionaries of Orissa. The American Free Will Baptists opened their mission in Balasore after it was abandoned by the latter.

Balasore town was one of the first English settlements in Eastern India. In 1636, Mr. Gabriel Broughton the surgeon of the ship Holwell had cured the Mughal emperor's daughter and in 1640, he had successfully treated one of the ladies of the Bengal Viceroy's Zenana. In return he wished a maritime settlement for his Company in Bengal. Therefore in 1642, the imperial Commissions were granted allowing the East India Company a land factory at Hugli and a maritime settlement at Balasore. Earlier to this, in 1634 the first English factory had been established at Pipli, on the river Subarnarekha. Due to the silting of the river it was necessary to transfer the Pipli factory to Balasore. During the conflict between the Afghans and the Mughals and then between the Mughals and the Marhattas for supremacy in Orissa the English continued to have a footing in Orissa.[87]

Balasore was ideally situated. It was closer to Calcutta both by land and water, it had populous vicinity and good country roads. The population of the Zillah from Jellasore on the north to Buddruck on the south, a distance of seventy five miles was half a million.[88] It was an important European settlement and had assumed importance in trade before the route to Calcutta was opened. The neighbouring villages was ideal "for the exertion of Christian zeal and love."[89] In 1827, it became a separate collectorate.[90] The American Free Will missionaries were allowed to open a station here.

Rev. Sutton had visited Berhampur twice to explore the possibilities for a third station. He would have decided in favour of this place, but Rev. Bampton was confident of attending to this part in addition to his station at Puri. Therefore Sutton turned towards northern Orissa.[91] He needed a change due to prolonged suffering and in January, 1825 Mr. Sutton took a missionary tour to Balasore and established a station in 1827.[92]

Earlier, in 1814 Mr. Peters an East Indian began his work in Balasore under the patronage of the Serampore Missionaries. It was left unoccupied by the Orissa Missionaries till 1825, when Sutton's visit made it a mission station (1827-30).[93] Mr. & Mrs. A. Sutton worked for this station until the death of W. Bampton (17 December, 1830). Then he was shifted from Balasore to Puri.[94]

For few years after the departure of Sutton, Balasore remained unoccupied and Messrs Lacey, Brown and Sutton became busy in southern

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parts of Orissa. In January, 1836, Mr. John Goadby went to Balasore and in January, 1836, resumed the work of Rev. Sutton. Ill health forced him to abandon his work in 1838, and he returned to England. Gangadhar Sarangi, a native preacher managed the situation until the American Free Will Baptist Missionaries Messrs Noyes and Phillips took charge of the station that year. Their wives also assisted them.[95] The British Baptist Missionary Mr. A. Sutton experienced some difficulties at Balasore. The population distribution was irregular and did not have a focus or a meeting place where he could meet them in large numbers like he used to in the principal bazaar at Cuttack or in the vicinity of the Jagannath temple at Puri.[96] The general character of the people was not befitting for receiving the gospel. "The lasciviousness of their character seems to be more glorying than in other places."[97] He worked amongst the Europeans and the Indo-British people of Balasore. His preachings to these people were published in the form entitled "Family Chaplain" in two volumes which was circulated in India.[98]

While staying in Balasore Mr. Sutton was assisted by Mr. Sunder on his visits to villages and markets in the neighbourhood. During the cold season he travelled roughly eight to eighteen miles and visited places three to five times a week.[99]

Rev. J. Goadby had undertaken several missionary journeys to different villages in Balasore. During his stay at Bhadrak he was assisted by native preachers Doitaree and Bamadeb. But no conversion was possible.[100]

Churches and schools were established by the American Baptists who took charge of this station after Goadby's departure. John Beams a British Civil Servant in India wrote in his biography "Memoirs of a Bengal Civilian" about Balasore—"Here are the houses of the European officials, the cutcheries and other public buildings, and a settlement of Baptist missionaries from America who have a chapel with high tower and good houses."[101] There was a Belgian Jesuit, Father Sapart and three Carmelite nuns—a Scotch Women, a German and a Belgian. The Baptists and the Catholics were in charge of a small number of children who turned orphans in the famine of 1866.[102] Father Sapart presided over the Roman Catholic Mission in Balasore. He had built a chapel to worship the Lord by undertaking lots of hardships.[103]

The American Baptist missionaries at Balasore encountered difficulties in evangelizing the people. The report of the Orissa Mission, printed at Cuttack in 1841, has registered Mr. Noyes' comments—"Upon our arrival we found no native christians, nor any visible traces of our predecessors labours, though the almost unparalleled antipathy

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of the people to the Gospel appeared to evince that they were no strangers to its doctrines. We make this remark not to undervalue those labours, but to explain why we have to report so little success. At first we could seldom get a hearing in the bazaar, but the people soon changed their method of attack and strove by silent contempt and occasional sneers and curses, to do what they are unable to perform by raising results. Their unusually intemperate habits, such as using ardent spirits, opium, and other intoxicating drugs, appear to render Balasore less hopeful than many other stations."[104]

In 1839, the liberal donation of some European friends enabled these American missionaries to construct a chapel in Balasore for English and Oriya worship. The same year they succeeded in converting two natives.[105] Rev. Noyes admitted of having twenty inquirers. Candidates to baptism hailed mainly from the missionary boarding school.[106]

Preaching in bazars and cold season touring was sincerely undertaken by the early American missionaries in Balasore.

Mrs Catherine Wilkinson, wife of Henry Wilkinson (B.M.S. missionary in Orissa from 1839 to 1859) in a letter to her friends in England mentions the work of missionaries in Balasore. These missionaries taught a good number of native children, the greater part as day scholars. The boarders were under the immediate care of Mrs Noyes. Children were taught to read and write and the girls especially were taught to do plain work neatly to prepare them for a comfortable livelihood in future.[107] She was extremely happy to find Mr. and Mrs. Noyes totally involved with the station.[108] She was optimistic about this station—"Prospects are encouraging, the work is evidently progressing, only more help is needed, xxxx.[109] In 1849, a little Christian community consisting of 65 persons included 14 Church members and 29 school Children.[110] In 1886, the mission had 12 churches in the districts of Balasore and Midnapore.[111]

In 1870, the Christian settlement of the American Baptists at Balasore had 154 native converts, whose social status was better than that of the native Christians in other districts. Two or three were in respectable government jobs. The larger group were industrious mechanics or peasants.[112] According to the Census Report of 1872, the Balasore District had 530 Christians or 0.1 per cent of total district population. Excluding 82 who were European and Eurasian inhabitants the rest 448 were native Christians. This included several orphans who were rescued by the missionaries during the famine of 1865-66.[113] To some extent Christianity had been accepted by the aborigine people of this region known as Santals. The first Santal Church was organized by Rev. James L. Phillips in 1874.[114]

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Jellasore - In 1840, the American missionary Rev. Phillips and his wife shifted to Jellasore, about 30 miles north and formed a second station.[115]

Rev Phillips, with the active assistance of Mr. Bachelor organised a church at Jellasore which consisted of six native members. Three of these were originally from the Church at Cuttack.[116] In 1849, there were 70 Christians, out of which 19 were members of the Church and 25 were children.[117]

When Phillips was stationed at Jellasore he discovered that the people had prior knowledge of the gospel. When the people from this area attended the annual Car Festival at Puri they came across the tracts that were distributed by the missionaries.[118]

The missionaries had also come across the tribals known as Santals in their visits to the villages.[119] A dispensary, a boarding school and a day school was established.

Santipur

About 1852, missionary work began at Santipur near Jellasore.[120] This was an important outstation for the American Baptists.[121] A farm of 200 acres was brought under cultivation and was a means of economic support to the members of Christian families.[122] There were 85 native Christians who were engaged in agriculture.[123] A small Christian village was established at Mitrapur (11 miles west of Balasore) in the Nilgiri Tributary State. In 1870, there were 31 Christians in this village who were well to-do small husbandmen.[124]

Midnapore—Midnapore was the name of a town and a zillah in the northern most point of Orissa and had a mixed population of Bengalis, Oriyas and Mohammedans.[125] Mrs. Catherine Wilkinson (wife of H. Wilkinson B.M.S. Missionary in Orissa from 1839-59) on their way to Cuttack from Calcutta had stayed for a while in Midnapore. She wrote about this place "Midnapore is a pretty place, very large and appears a healthy station. I was astonished when we went through the bazaar to see such multitude of people. Mr. B (Brooks) says this district is very thickly inhabited."[126] In the estimate of Mr. Brooks Midnapore was a large and populous city consisting of fifty or sixty thousand inhabitants. There were a majority of Bengalies, a considerable number of Oriyas who lived chiefly in small bazaars and were generally of low-caste. There were few European (civil and military) residents and sizeable number of East Indians of Portugese origin.[127]

When Mr. Sutton was stationed as a missionary at Balasore, in December 1827, Sutton, Gungadhar the native preacher and Sunder had

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visited Midnapore. While preaching in the town they were greeted with a large cake of cow dung. Gungadhar received severe punches over the ribs from some brahmins in the crowd and while returning were pelted with gravel stones.[128] It was frequently visited by the Orissa missionaries and from 1836, onwards it functioned as a regular station when Mr. & Mrs. Brooks came from Cuttack to work here. Mr. John Brooks "built a chapel for English worship" but was unable "to accomplish very little in direct missionary labour among the natives."[129] The European families of Midnapore however encouraged missionary activities in this region. Mrs. Wilkinson wrote—"We called at the house of a Mr. Gordan, a Military Officer, one of Mr. B's pious friends. My interview with Mr. G. was truly delightful and beneficial. I don't know when I have observed so far a form united with so spiritual a mind xxx a few such families do much good at a station, they encourage the missionary and extend his influence."[130] Till a chapel was constructed, worship was conducted in a certain Mr. Pennington's house and some Portugese Catholics attended the service. An English school room was constructed with the help of donations.[131]

English service were conducted twice a day, in the morning and evening throughout the year except in hot weather. Thursday evening was devoted to Bible Classes. English services did not interfere with native labour. They were conducted at a time when it was impossible to have it in open air.[132] Brooks was more inclined to preach in bazaars then to preach in villages. The congregation was much larger in bazaars than in villages.[133]

In December 1841, with the concurrent advice of the Orissa Missionaries and the Committee in England Mr. Brooks left Midnapore to co-operate with Mr. Sutton in the new station at Calcutta. For one year Midnapore was left unoccupied. On 5th of November, 1842 Mr. and Mrs. Stubbins reached this station. A week after their arrival the native brother Langhan Das and his wife from Balasore joined them at Midnapore and resumed their work of evangelization.[134] On 14th of January, 1843 three people were baptized. Mr. Stubbins left for England for reasons of ill health and this station was relinquished to the American Missionaries in 1844. The English Report for 1844 stated - "The last Report announced that this town had no longer a resident missionary. It has proved an unfruitful and barren spot, no one that has been occupied by the Society more so, and in consequence of the Orea language has been spoken here to a very small extent, the opinion was strongly and decidedly expressed to the Committee, that it would be advisable to relinquish this place to the American Brethren, who from its proximity to their stations felt desirous of be-

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coming its occupants."[135] It was thereafter occupied by the American missionaries in 1844, it was abandoned for some time, was subsequently occupied permanently and became a centre of interesting missionary work.[136] The Americans were quite successful in evangelizing the people the details of which were reported to their society in America.[137]

In Midnapore, also, a few native Christians belonging to the Church of England were also found.[138] Three missionary societies had created their missionary field in this area.

Calcutta—The Baptist missionaries also felt the need to Christianize the Oriyas living in Calcutta who were roughly twenty five to thirty thousand in number. A certain J. W. Alexander Esq a gentleman of Calcutta was keen to see Christianity to be spread amongst these non-resident Oriyas of Calcutta and was in correspondence with the Orissa Mission. He had also offered to pay £ 480 annually for three years to meet the expenses of the mission. A special conference was held at Cuttack in October, 1841 to consider this missionary out let and Mr. Alexander's proposal for the Calcutta mission was finalised.[139] Accordingly, Rev. Sutton went to Calcutta with several native Christians and Mr. John Brooks from Midnapore joined him.[140] The Orissa mission was not able to take the responsibility of this station for long. A few years after its operation it was bound to close.[141]

Berhampur—was an important Mission station. It was densely populated. In 1839, Berhampur had 30,000 inhabitants. People were religious and Saivities, (workshipper of Mahadev) wicked and debauch. The proverb was "As is the King, so are the subjects; as is the God so are the workshippers."[142]

Berhampur in Ganjam was nearly seventy miles from Puri and was the last station in the Northern Circars under the Madras Presidency.[143] It was also the southern extremity of Orissa and included portions of the Kond territory and was bounded by the limits of the Ganjam Collectorate.[144] Three fourth of the inhabitants were Oriyas, and one fourth were Telingas. They were not tenacious of their caste as in other places; and many features in their character seem favourable for missionary labour.[145] The climate was suitable for missionary settlement and it was the headquarters of the military force of the district with a sizable number of civil servants of the British Government.[146] Mrs. Catherine Wilkinson, the wife of a missionary in a letter to a friend in England had described Berhampur to be a picturesque place.[147] Prior to the opening of a station Rev. Sutton had visited this place first in December 1825, and then in 1826. This town enjoyed the visits of Messrs Bampton, Lacey, Goadby, Brown and Stubbins. Finally it was occupied as a missionary station by Rev. Brown in 1837, and became a permanent mission station.[148]

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In the Annual Report of the Society for the year 1837, it was stated that in Berhampur "independent of the Cuttack peoples a small church of ten members was formed. Of these, one is Irish, two English, one Scottish, two Indo-British and four Hindoos."[149] It is also stated by Rev. M. A. Sherring - "In the province of Ganjam between Vizag and Orissa, is a flourishing mission of the General Baptist Society existing since 1837. Its headquarters are in the town of Berhampore. There are two congregation of Christians in the mission containing 270 converts of whom 160 are communicants. In the same place is a native Christian Church of 97 members, in connection with the Church of England."[150]

Rev. Brown and his wife were the first to occupy the Berhampur station which was opened in 1837. In March 1838, Mr. Stubbins joined them. Mr. Stubbins and Miss Kirkman got married at Cuttack on 23rd January, 1840. The missionary couple worked sincerely for the Berhampur station. In 1840, the missionary orphanage was established at Berhampur. Next year when the missionaries Rev. Henry Wilkinson and his wife settled at Ganjam the inmates of the Berhampur orphanage were shifted and left under Wilkinson's care. Messrs Stubbins, Grant, Buckley and Bailey also had worked in this station.[151] Rev. Stubbins was removed due to ill health and Rev. Grant met an untimely death while working here.[152]

Between Grant's death and the arrival of Rev. Buckley the station was managed temporarily by Rev. Wilkinson and his wife. The Report of the Society for the year 1844, had mentioned that the Berhampur station "having been deprived of its own missionary, has during the year received much attention from Mr. and Mrs. Wilkinson, who principally resides here."[153] It is to be remembered a young officer named Captain Macpherson had actively participated in helping the missionaries of this station.

In 1827, the first baptism had taken place. A native named Erun was baptized by Rev. Bampton. Mrs. Cardogan was baptized by Rev. Goadby in 1834.[154] In the first year of the permanent occupation of Berhampur as a mission station (1837-38) seven natives were baptized and within three years of itinerancies people were receptive to the gospel. Purusottam a convert and an evangelist of Berhampur had stated—"I have seen many different places, and preached the gospel in many different parts, but in none have I seen such general interest as in the neighbourhood of Berhampur."[155]

The little church of Berhampur steadily grew up, Its members increased. Within twelve years of the occupation of this station there were 44 members in communion and the number of Christians were 162.[156]

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Between the years 1838-58, the Berhampur church had baptized 140 people. In 1858, the completion of twenty years of missionary work was celebrated.[157] In 1845, two natives, Dinabandhu Mohanty and Balaji Sahu were ordained as native preachers and in 1844 three Christian marriages had taken place amongst the members of the asylum.[158] In 1868, Khagai Behera a rich gentlemen of Pailipara became a convert. Ostracized by his family for being a convert he had to renounce his property. The first Sunday School was established at Berhampur in 1870, under the superintendence of Rev. Daniel Mohanty. In 1900, an orphanage was established and twenty boys and fifty girls from the Sambalpur Orphanage were shifted to this place. Zenana work was initiated by W.M.A. the same year. In 1904, an industrial or technical school was established by Mr. Zari. The children from the orphanage undertook training in this school to facilitate their rehabilitation in future years.[159]

The Berhampur station had a sizable Telugu speaking population. Therefore it was desirable to have a separate church for them. On 8th November 1903, the Telugu Church was established. In 1923, the Orissa Missionary Conference decided to hand over the work of the mission to the native members and preachers of the Church. In 1934, Saheb Robert Sahoo constructed a church named 'Helen Worship House' in memory of his deceased wife.[160]

Two christian villages grew up in the Berhampur station. One was 'Inmate' or 'Puruna Sahi,' the other was 'Hillpatna' or 'Nuasahi.' Puruna sahi was established by Rev. Stubbins and he had received land from the Government for this purpose. The second village 'Nuasahi' was established by Rev. Bailey who had received land grant from the government to rehabilitate the Meriah victims. An European named Mr. Hill added six acres of land to this small settlement and in 1854, it was named Hillpatna.[161] The Berhampur station saw the growth of Christianity and Christian villages in its outlying regions. A few of them were in Aska, Chatrapur, Narayanapur, Jampalli, Padripalli and Russellkonda.[162]

Ganjam - The first report of the Orissa Mission printed in India contained a brief note about this town—"This was once a very important and populous European settlement, but in consequence of the growing prosperity of Calcutta, and subsequently of a destructive visitation of providence, called the Ganjam fever, but which was in all probability of plague introduced by the shipping from Arabia, it has been for many years nearly forsaken by Europeans, while the Native population is much reduced xxxxxxx It is still however a large town, and situated as it is between Berhampore and Pooree districts, forms an important as well as a convenient station for a missionary."[163]

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The Report of the Orissa Mission had referred to a certain Rev. Li being deputed by the London Missionary Society in 1766, to Ganjam to work amongst the Europeans. He and his wife worked for fifty years until ill health forced them to go back. Rev. Li died on his way to England. After his departure for some years the British Baptist Missionaries frequently visited Ganjam.[164] During one of Rev. Lacey's visits to Ganjam (prior to the opening of the station) he noticed a few Catholics residing there. According to him they were poor and ignorant. A priest used to visit this place once a year from Vizagapatam, which was about 170 miles away from Ganjam.[165] In 1840, Mr. H. Wilkinson and his wife started a regular station here. They had opened an orphanage. The rescued Meriah victims were sent by the government to this orphanage. The cholera epidemic in Ganjam forced Mr. Wilkinson to shift the orphanage to Berhampur in 1845. Native Christians like Dinabandhu Mohanty, Balaji Sahoo, Dalimba, Padma, Manika and many others accompanied Mr. Wilkinson to Berhampur. In the year 1858, the latter returned to England.[166] A neighbouring Raja had visited the missionaries at Ganjam. He received a New Testament and was quite pleased with Mrs. Wilkinson's involvement in the orphanage. Dinabandhu Mohanty was the first native convert of this station. Many followed him and a church was established. Three members of the Church, Tama Patra, Jaishingh and Jagannath Mohanty were appointed as native preachers by Wilkinson.[167] Mr. Wilkinson "judged it desirable that they should continue in that district as they would thus keep up their knowledge of the Teligoo language which there adds to the usefulness of native preachers."[168]

Canadian Baptist Mission

Another group of missionaries representing the *Canadian Baptist Mission worked for seventy six years amongst the Telugu speaking population in Southern Ganjam. But in the beginning of the twentieth century they started working amongst the Oriyas of this place.[169] Before the Canadian Baptists had opened their stations in Southern Orissa two churches had already been established at Akulatampara and Parlakhemundi. These two stations were opened by two native Oriyas Mr. Purusottam Choudhury and Mr. Das Antarvedi. Both were fluent in Telugu language and started preaching Telugu. Due to their efforts the Telugu Church was established.[170]

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* The Canadin Baptist Mission had its headquarters at 223 Church Street, Toronto, Canada - Report of the Canadian Baptist Mission, July 1914, to June, 1915.

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In October, 1873 the first church was established at Akulatampara. Appalnarasiya and Bhagaban Behera were the preachers of this church. Eighteen years later the other church was established at Parlakhemundi. In 1908, a house was constructed in memory of Purusottam and Antarbedi at Parlakhemundi. It is famous as the church of Parlakhemundi.[171]

In later years these two stations were looked after by the Canadian Baptists. Till the end of the nineteenth century they worked with the Telugus of Southern Ganjam. In the twentieth century they worked with the Oriya Pans and Sabaras and the name of this mission was Sabar Oriya Mission.[172]

The Canadian Baptists had their stations in Southern India only. In the Krishna District their stations were at Akidu, Avanigadda, Vuyyuru; in Godavari district Cocanada, Pithapuram, Samalkot, Tuni, Ramachandrapuram were their mission stations. Anakapalli, Bimlipatam, Bobbili, Narsapatnam, Palkonda, Rayagadda, Vizanagaram were the stations in Vizagapatam district and Chicacole, Parlakhemundi Sonepat, Tekkali were their stations within Ganjam. It is to be remembered that the name of the station is identified with the mission field. The residence of the Savara Missionary was in Paralakhemundi.[173]

Paralakhemundi - This station was reorganised by the Canadian Baptists in the year 1892. Rev. S. C. Freeman (B.A.) was a missionary for this station from 1902-1912. His wife followed him and worked from 1906-12. Rev. J. A. Glendinning (M.A.) and his wife worked since the year 1902. The other women missionaries working in this area were M. E. Harrison from 1896-1916 and Miss E. E. Gaunce from 1906-1912.[174]

The Report of the Canadian Baptist Mission, July to June 1914-15 also furnished some details about mission work. According to the report, Rev. S. C. Freeman and his workers had toured intensively during the year. Intensive work had been planned accordingly. The lady missionary and her Bible Women arranged to either proceed or follow the men workers at each touring centre thus doubling the strength of the campaign. There were unhappy incidents of two christian converts who had become christians a few years ago but still had their caste attachments. Their wives still remained Hindus. Tired of double standard these two converts invited some Christians to live with them in their homes. The unconverted wives took their children and went away to their old homes leaving their husbands alone.[175]

In January 1917, a young convert from high caste was baptized in Parlakhemundi. People who did not appear to have taken genuine interest in this religion were rejected. A Sanyasi (holyman) came to the Church and Rev. Freeman's home many times and repeatedly asked

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for baptism. He was refused because the "fruits meant for repentance" was not found within him. Freeman's report of the Parlakhemundi field mentioned the addition of a new preacher, a farmer of primary education who rented his land and became a preacher at his own charges. During the outbreak of cholera epidemic he was resourceful in saving many sick persons of his village. One man had been baptized and many unbaptized Christians and friends in his neighbourhood were instructed and influenced by him.[176]

A large part of the work in this field was touring the villages. The native preachers saw the advantage of taking gramophones to attract the village crowds, but the war prices of the gramphones were prohibitive. Rev. Freeman had visited the village of Mokalingam during a great religious festival and was successful in distributing tracts. He sold portions of the gospel and presented the gospels in private and in public.[177]

The other station Akulatampara was also visited by the Canadian Baptists. Freeman reports—"Mr. Walker's visit at Akulatampara last year (1915) resulted in a more aggressive effort to rebuild the chapel destroyed by a flood. In this work Mr. Daniel was very active. Through his brother's influence a rajah gave a free license for timber for the forest xxx Mr. Daniel made the journey into the strange country consulted with forest officers, contractors, rivermen and safely brought the logs to the church site. The site was given by a Hindu who had been very friendly xxxxxx The funds have been secured in India. Being the scene of the first Christian triumphs in these parts the church is historically interesting."[178]

The female missionary workers spent weeks in touring villages and at times their preaching became "more public than it is in town."[179] Maude Harrison, the missionary in this field from 1896-1916 mentioned in her report her activities among women and children. On 25th October, 1916 she returned to Parlakhemundi after her second furlough and in the first half year of her third term report she mentioned about her touring experiences in the villages of Parlakhemundi. She was accompanied by a Bible woman and two inexperienced helpers (a widow and the wife of her cartman) in her tours. At her first camp the widow was a great help and a source of inspiration for Miss Harrison. She met a widower and got married after a few days. At her second camp her cartman and his wife developed fever and left for their homes. Their number of workers reduced and with one Bible woman at hand they worked hard. They left for the villages in the morning with their lunch pack and visited around 70 villages and spoke on an average at least four times in each village.[180]

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Rayagadda—The Rayagadda station was opened by the Canadian Baptists in 1909. Rayagadda was a part of Vizagapatam district under the Madras Presidency. After Orissa became a separate province in 1936, it was included as a part of the Koraput district in Orissa. Rev. Tedford of the Canadian Mission worked for this station until he left it in 1913. Mr. Tedford and Mrs. Elliott did commendable work for this field. Then the missionary from Bobbili managed this station which was quite an impossible task for him.[181]

The Rayagadda field perished due to lack of workers both Indian and Canadian. Compared to the amount of labour and money spent in these fields the yield was unsatisfactory. John Hardy a missionary in Rayagadda had suggested that this field required a missionary "who has all his missionary career ahead of him, for this field has problems peculiar to itself, which will require time and luck mixed with some of that solvent called common sense. After he has solved his problems, he should have time to work them out. He should also have considerable knowledge of medicine for government hospitals are few and far between and very unpopular. The linguistic problem of this field is considerable. To do any thing like work on the whole of the field he will need both Telugu and Oriya, and even then he will not be completely furnished until he adds a working knowledge of Khond to his list."[182]

Efforts were made to start a school at Singapore and one man was baptized. When John Hardy asked him why he wanted to be a Christian he replied "My brother is a Christian." In another village, eight miles on this side of Singapore, a youngman who had worked for several years as a coolie in Assam was converted.[183]

The hill people known as the Savaras were also looked after by the Canadian Baptists.

Originally the Savaras were a wild wandering forest tribe who have been identified with the Suari of Pliny and Sabarai of Ptolemy.[184] They are generally small in stature and of light build.[185]

The language spoken by them is stated by Sir, G. Grierson to be form of Munda speech. This tribe is widely distributed through Chattisgarh, Orissa and the Madras districts of Ganjam of Vizagpatnam. Another branch long separated is found in the Bundelkhand districts bordering United Provinces and the Damoh and Saugor districts of Central Provinces.[186]

The Canadian Baptist missionaries for these people were stationed at Parlakhemundi. According to the Report presented by the resident missionary of Paralakhemundi J. A. Glendinning entitled "Field Savar Hills" it was stated that in spite of sickness they were able to make

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three tours to the hills. In one of these tours they had attended the annual meeting of the Oriya Christians for the enhancement of spiritualism. It was their tradition to secure a good Oriya preacher from the English Baptist Mission who were in operation in the north, in the Oriya country. Between 1916-17 the Canadian Baptists could not get one. They were also unsuccessful in getting delegates from the Telugu Churches. The Telugu people were afraid of going to the hills. Another reason was, Bodopada the meeting place was at a distance from their main centres.[187]

During the year under review (July, 1916 to June, 1917) 21 Paidi people were baptized. Satisfactory reports came from a Paidi village in the Parlakhemundi field where several people were eager to undergo baptism. Their total church membership was 355. Of the two churches amongst the Oriyas viz. one at Buradingi and the other at Bodopoda, the former progressed encouraginly and the village became predominantly Christian. The evangelical developments in the latter was far from satisfactory. Education was not neglected. There were seven primay schools, run by the missionaries one of which was in Parlakhemundi.[188]

The Canadian Baptsits had worked with equal sincerity amongst the women and children of this region. The Report presented by E.E. Gaunce (the missionary for the Ganjam district) for the year 1916-17 mentioned that she had toured Rayagadda and hand spent eighteen days. She had also visited places like Narayanapuram, Serango etc. Some of the girls from the hills were sent to the schools managed by the British Baptist Missions.[189]

The Canadian Baptists survived in these parts with the help of Canadian funds provided by the Telugu churches. The latter donated $ 150 a year. The Telugu Women's Ancillary provided $ 30 to $ 50 yearly for the support of an Oriya teacher and one or two Savara children in school and to aid general Savara work carried on by the Northern Association of Telugu churches.[190]

Apart from evangelization the Canadian Baptists opened Sunday Schools, Leper Asylums and engaged themselves in medical and industrial works.

Sambalpur was headquarters of the Political Agent and Commissioner of the Orissa Feudatory States and Tributary Mahals, the Agency Forest Officer, the Agency Engineer and the Agency Inspector of Schools.[191]

In the year 1849, the Sambalpur State was annexed by the Britishers on application of the policy of Doctrine of Lapse'. The ruler of Sambalpur Sri Narayan Singh did not have a natural born heir. After

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the death of the Raja in 1849, the queen Mukhpandevi was given a pension and her state annexed. Thirteen years before this annexation i.e. in 1836, a pair of American Free Will Baptist Missionaries Messrs Phillips and Noyes along with their wives opened a station in Sambalpur. The climate being unsuitable for them, they had to abandon this station and shifted to Balasore, a place in Northern Orissa. After their departure no missionary visited Sambalpur for 40 years.[192]

Forty years after the American missionaries left Sambalpur, the mission station was reopened in 1879, by British Baptists Messrs J.G. Pike* and Heberlet. Indian Evangelists from cuttack and Puri came to help them in their work.[193] Various other Christian missions viz. Catholic, Baptist, Lutheran and Pentecostilic worked later on this district.[194]

In January, 1879 Rev. J.G. Pike and his wife travelled from Cuttack to Sambalpur. After covering hundred miles on the Mahanadi river he suffered from malaria and was forced to return to Cuttack. Towards the end of the year he resumed his journey with another missionary Rev. P.E. Heberlet and finally touched Sambalpur on 12th December, 1879. Thomas Santra and Daniel Das were sent to assist them.[195]

In March 1880, the Indian preacher Rev. Daniel Das and his wife joined the British Baptists at Sambalpur. The present weekly Kamali Bazar was the place where they had first pitched their tents.[196]

Preaching was done in a daily market place known as Brahmani which is near the present Lady Louis Girls' High School. In order to facilitate preaching in these places the missionaries purchased a land and built a house. They had a Book Room where Christian journals were provided to those eager to know about christianity.[197] In course of time the Book Room in front of Lady Louis Girls' High School was sold by the missionaries to Dr. Atulya Chandra Behera. About seven thousand and five hundred rupees was donated by these missionaries to the Oriya Christian Union.

The Oriya Mandali or Christian Union in Sambalpur Town

The exact date of the establishment of the Oriya Christian Union in Sambalpur town is doubtful. Christian families from Puri and Cuttack had come and settled in Sambalpur. Their families formed the genesis of the Oriya Christian Union.[198] Though they were few in number they worked sincerely for preparing the Sambalpur and its surrounding areas for evangelization.

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* J.G. Pike is the grandson of Rev. J.E. Pike, the first Secretary of the G.B.M.S. and the father of another popular missionary in Orissa, Rev. H.W. Pike.

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The Sambalpur Oriya Christian Union was actively involved with the activities of the Utkal Christian Church Union. In the year 1933, the Utkal Baptist Christian Central Council was formed. The latter had modified the minutes of the Sambalpur District Christian Union. Gradually these two units united and formed the main stream for the cause of Christianity in Orissa in general and Sambalpur in particular.[199]

Converts in Sambalpur

It took many years before the Sambalpur station could boast of a convert. On 17th April, 1887 Nabaghana Chaini, a brahmin from Talab village accepted Christianity. His relatives ostracized him and he settled in Sambalpur town. His wife worked as a Bible Woman.[200] Mr. Chandrasekhar Panda was the second brahmin convert of the Sambalpur station. He belonged to the Kuanr Band village and worked in the government transport corporation. After retirement he remained in charge of the Girls' Hostel for the Christians. Though Muslims formed a minority community in Sambalpur there were a handful of Muslims converted to Christianity. This was a unique phenomenon. There were instances of high caste Hindus and low caste Oriyas becoming converts. But very few Muslims had changed their religion. In Sambalpur Mr. Fazal Hussain became the first Muslim to embrace Christianity in the month of March, 1911. Mr. S.L. Rahman followed him and became a Christian.[201]

Though "bazar preaching was faithfully carried on and a book room opened in the heart of the town, the main results in the district are to be found among the Mundas who were an aboriginal tribe."[202] According to the Report of the Bengal District Gazetteers for the year 1909—"The Baptist Mission has a station at Sambalpur and maintains a school there; during the winter months the missionaries carry on evangelistic work among the lower castes and aboriginal tribes in the wilder parts of the district.[203] These Mundas followed their own customs which had hardly changed after years of close contact with 'civilization.' They were a host of 'bonga or spirits. The Mundas believed that the Christians worshipped a special kind of 'Bonga' by whose help they escaped troubles caused by malevolent 'bongas.'[204]

Like Sundar Das Baba and his disciplies a certain Mr. Prabhu Sahai played an important role in winning over the Mundas of Sambalpur to Christianity. Mr. Sahai was a Munda from Ranchi and became a convert under the guidance of the Lutheran Mission. Incidentally he came to Sambalpur and stayed at Telenpalli.[205] "Far from other christians he used to hold Sunday services in his thatched cottage forty miles

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from Sambalpur. Non-christians were attracted by his singing Mundari* hymns with the help of a small stringed instrument, in the use of which he was expert. He preached to these people as well. During the week he wandered about making friends with the people as they worked in field or jungle and telling them of his lord. The first to confess Jesus Christ in baptism was Dukhiya who took the name of Premadaya. In 1890, Mr. Vaughan reports the baptism of twenty Mundas and the opening of a chapel at Telenpalli."[206]

Gradually many Mundas were persuaded to accept Christianity. Amongst the many converts were Parama Munda's son Raghu Munda from Kukurkani village, Mirdha Munda, Yusuf Munda (father of Dhukhia Munda), Yoyel Munda, Liza Munda, Fatu Munda from Telenpalli village.[207] They adopted christian names after conversion.

The missionary of the Sambalpur station Rev. Brailey felt the necessity of constructing a church in the region of the Mundas.[208] As the Mundas were tribals the missionaries preferred some kind of segregation by having an independent house of worship for them.

A church at Telenpalli was erected by an English Railway Contractor Mr. M.E.C. Hamnet at his own cost. He was in charge of the IB River Bridge Construction.[209]

In course of time the Telenpalli Church, Barmunda Church, Tingsmal Church, Sagarpalli Church, Dhuchura Church, Meghpal Church and Khulia Church was formed.[210]

It is clear from the number of Churches formed around the Sambalpur town that Christianity became popular amongst the Mundas, the indigenous tribal populace of that region. The statistics provided by Mr. P.K. Patra about the number of Munda Christians belongs to the year 1943.[211]

Before 1919, there were not any Christians in the Munda villages around the town of Sambalpur. In December, 1919 Bishi Birla from Dhusurapada village became a convert. Gradually their numbers increased and they settled in twelve outlying villages. The Church members were 81, and Christians were 165 in number. This area was named as the Sadar Munda Area which worked with the Sambalpur Oriya Church.[212] It is also mentioned in the volume of the One Hundred and fiftieth anniversary of the Baptist Missionary Society in India (1792-1942)-"In Sambalpur itself a large number of Mundas have found Christ and joined the Oriya Church. They live in nine villages. They are lovers of sacred music and their singing band loves to go among non-Christians and tell in tell in song the story of Jesus, thus attracting many hearers."[213]

* Mundari—The language spoken by the Mundas

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In the year 1926, the Sambalpur Oriya Baptist Union and the six Munda Churches amalgamated and formed the Sambalpur District Union. In the year 1970, when the diocese was formed, except for the Oriya Church the rest joined it. In 1980, fourteen churches belonging to the diocese became independent.[214]

As reported by Bengal District Gazetteers, in the year 1901, there were 714 Christians in Sambalpur out of which 567 were natives.[215] According to the Census of 1931, there were 3,618 Christians in the Sambalpur district. There had been no European Missionary attached to the Sambalpur mission since 1927.[216]

In 1943, the Sambalpur Mission station consisted of 52 villages, 1276 Christians and 641 members of the Church. Missionaries like Messrs Pike, Heberlet, Brailey, Vaun, Long, Donson, Horseborough, Hohnson and Outal worked for this station.[217] Native preachers like Thomas Santra, Daniel Das, Balunkeswar Pradhan, Bhikari Santra, Balakrishna Rath, John Paul, Dali Patra etc. had also worked religiously for the Sambalpur station.[218]

The Lutheran Mission with headquarters at Chakradharpur also worked in the Sambalpur district. It was reported in 1901, that the converts of the Baptist Mission numbered 308 and those of the Lutheran Mission 112.[219] The National Missionary Society with headquarters at Jharsuguda also worked in this district.[220]

In 1971, there were various Christian missions according to the Report of the Orissa District Gazetteers. The Catholic, Baptist, Lutheran and Pentecostlic were some of the missionary groups active in Sambalpur.[221] When the British Baptist Missionaries opened their station at Sambalpur the latter was included as part of the Chattisgarh division of the Central Provinces under the East India Company. Sambalpur was sub-divided into two administrative divisions, Sambalpur Sadar Sub-division and Bargarh Sub-division. Borasamber Zamindari and Phuljhar were included in the Bargarh Sub-division. Balangir, Bamanda, Redhakhol, Sundargarh, Gangpur were tributary states controlled by the political agent.[222]

The missionary enterprise knew no political boundary. From Sambalpur the missionaries operated in the above regions. In the Gangapur state, a branch of the German Evangelical Mission with headquarters at Kumarkela worked since 1899, and gained several converts. The Roman Catholic Jesuit mission established in the Biru paragana of Ranchi claimed many converts in the State amongst the tribal Oraons. According to the census of 1901, there were 1,758 Christians in the Gangapur state.[223]

The Patna State was reopened as an outstation of the Sambalpur field in 1879. For fourteen years missionary workers laboured by touring

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the whole district within a radius of hundred miles, but with no results.[224] Then Mr. Heberlet called his workers together and for four months they waited upon God desiring to know His will and asking for his blessing. It was at this time that Mr. Heberlet made the suggestion of taking the Gospel to the out-castes. This idea came as a shock to the Indian brethren who had never entered an outcaste village. But the suggestion was of God and led to wonderful results.[225] Rev. Heberlet wrote about the missionary tours in the Patna State. In 1893, one day while touring in this State, Daniel Das left the caste village of Budipadra, disheartened by their cold reception. He saw the low caste quarters standing apart from the rest across the road and decided to preach them. This was the first deliberate attempt to reach the low caste people. Daniel Das first and chiefly preached the gospel to a man named Jadab.[226] Within a few months (in 1893) fourteen more untouchables became converts. This was the first effort on the part of the missionary to spread their faith amongst the untouchables. The years between 1893 to 1907 "were years of abundant harvest when hundreds of outcastes came in faith to the Saviour who had come to seek and save that which was lost." The Glad News spread beyond the borders of Patna State to the neighbouring Zamindaries of Borasambar and Phuljhar."[227]

When it was found difficult to operate from Sambalpur in Padampur and the Patna State, one station was opened at Padampur. Inside the Patna state it was decided to have a station opened at Bolangir. But the Raja of Bolangir refused to part with any land required for this purpose.[228] Therefore sub-stations were opened at Bargarh (nearly 30 miles from Sambalpur) and Loisingha (about 11 miles from Bolangir) Missionaries lived there and preached and guided the people.[229] Rev. Bhikari Santra opened the Loisingha station in 1897. The latter settled there for over twenty years and endured much hardship and scorn from the caste Hindus because he mixed with outcastes.[230] In 1899, the Bargarh Mission sub—station was opened and the missionaries began their work in 1901. The same year there was famine and Messrs Vauhn and Long worked tirelessly to keep the Christians united under stress and strain.[231]

The Bihar and Orissa District Gazetteers for the year 1932, reports that there were two Indian assistant missionaries at Bargarh and two at Padmapur. They worked in the Bargarh sub—division.[232]

About the Church in Bolangir it had been reported by the Orissa District Gazetteers -"The Christians of the district mainly belongs to the Baptist Mission (Protestants) and they mostly concentrate in Bolangir sub-division, where as many as 3,587 of them are found. Many of

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them are tribal people like Kondhs and Binjhals. The missionary activities started in the ex-State of Patna in 1893, during the rule of Maharaja Rama Chandra Deo III. The first mission centre was established at Loisingha in 1897, xxxx"[233]

In 1908, Western Orissa was divided into three sectors to facilitate missionary operations in this part. They were (1) Patna State (Bolangir), (2) Phuljhar and Borasambar Zamindari, (3) Bargarh area.[234]

The centre at Bolangir was opened in 1911. The activities of the mission grew fast and in 1968, there were 87 churches in the district. Their main achievements were in the sphere of education.[235] Rev. Heberlet was very active in this station.

The numbers of Christians grew in Western Orissa. By 1912, there were no less than 5,000 Christians in the three fields of Patna State, Bargarh, and the Borasambar and Phuljhar areas.[236] These Christians were scattered in over a hundred villages and there was no organised church to unite them in a common forum. In 1913, missionaries like Rev. F. W. Jarry and Rev. G. S. Wilkins with their wives came to work in this region. Due to their efforts "Christians were grouped into organised churches, Bolangir being the first church to be so formed in 1914."[237] Between 1914 and 1917 sixteen churches were formed in the Patna state and full time workers were appointed. These workers met every month to receive instruction and achieved uniformity in co-ordinating their work.[238] In April 1917, the sixteen churches in Patna state were united in a church union named "Patna Baptist Church Council" under the guidance of Rev. Jarry.[239] A "definite step towards a fuller development of indigenous responsibility was taken, for the village preachers and the matters concerning Christ's kingdom were brought under the control of this union and the church collections supplemented by Mission grants were devoted to the upkeep of the work."[240] By 1922, fourteen churches of Padampur and the five churches of Bargarh joined the Patna Baptist Church Council which was renamed as "West Utkal Baptist Church Council." The constitution of this union was based on that of the Baptist Union in England.[241]

In 1938, the Mennonite Mission decided to look after the six churches of the Phuljhar area. The christian workers in this region faced retrenchment and lack of workers forced the Baptist to handover to the Mennonite Mission which was active in this region.[242]

In spite of this kind of setback, in 1943 i.e. the year of the fiftieth anniversary of missionary work in this area there were seventy nine organised churches in the union with a total membership of roughly 10,000 people.[243]

Female missionaries were also very active in Western Orissa. In 1903, a full time women's work began in the Bolangir field when a Bible

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woman was sent to Loisingha. She was financially supported from the Oriya Christian Women's Fund. Though Loisingha is 64 miles away from Sambalpur she also covered the latter area. No other Bible women was sent to the district until 1912. Except for the missionaries' wives the first English woman missionary Miss Thatcher arrived in Bolangir in 1916. Due to ill health she retired soon and in 1923, Miss Collett and Miss Vaughan came to work. A building, the Barrass Memorial was constructed in Bolangir in the name of Miss Barrass a missionary from Cuttack. Bible training and vocational training was given to girls and ladies in this institution.[244]

Evangelization fairly succeeded amongst the depressed class in Sambalpur and Western Orissa. In 1931, the total population of Sambalpur district was 880,945 out of which Hindus were 870,178, Muslims 3,813 and Christians 3,184.[245]

Koraput—The Christians of this region were practically converts of the German missionaries famous as the Schleswig—Holstein Evangelical Lutheran Mission. Mission work began quite late by this group in 1882, when its pioneers Rev. H. Bothmann and Rev. E. Pohl, started to build a mission house at Koraput, but suffered so severely from fever that they abandoned the place in favour of Salur.[246] Koraput was again re-occupied in 1885, by the same mission and for the next five years missionary work progressed satisfactorily at certain places in the district like Jeypore, Nowrangpur and Gunupur. Mission houses were subsequently built at Rayagada, Bissam Cuttack, Nandapur, Lakshmipur and Doliamba. In the absence of the German Missionaries during and after the great War (First World War) work was carried on by the American Lutheran Mission.* The German Missionaries returned in 1925, and resumed their work.[247] In the early forties the district was divided into two mission fields. The area comprising the Rayagada and Gunupur division was called East Jeypore and came under the supervision of the Danish Church. The latter had begun their mission station in the year 1912. The Baptist Mission at Dummagaden in East Godavari District worked in Malkangiri Taluk.[248] More so the Canadian Baptists were quite active in the Rayagada area where they had a station in the beginning of the 20th century.[249]

Sundergarh - This area was a part of Bengal before Orissa became a separate province in 1936. The British Baptists had not visited this place. Hence there is no mentioning about this area in their litera-

* The Lutheran Church in America had sent its first missionary, Rev. C. F. Heyer who started a mission in Guntur in 1841. Guntur was a Telugu speaking area of Madras Presidency.

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ture. The Orissa District Gazetteers furnished some information about missionary work in this region.

Most of the Christians of the Sundergarh district belonged to the Scheduled Tribes. These tribals were converted to Christian faith by the Christian missions operating in this area. As early as 1870, the Lutheran mission started their activities in the Raiboga police station. A branch of the German Evangelical Mission began its work since 1899, and made several converts. Its headquarters was at Kumarkela. The Roman Catholic Jesuit Mission with headquarters near Ranchi, in Bihar also claimed to have made converts chiefly amongst the Oraons. While following the religious festivals and rituals of their new faith these converted christians also observed some of their tribal customs and festivals.[250]

The Anglican Church Mission began work at Pradhanpali (Rourkela and Hatibari), Rajgangpur and Parandihi Rakshi and its nearby areas. This missionary group was associated with education, evangelization and providing medical facilities to the poor.[251]

The Belgian Jesuits were successful in converting the tribals of this region. They arrived around 1900, and began a movement for mass conversion.[252]

Mayurbhanj - In the Mayurbhanj State missionary work was possible due to the charitable attitude of the Maharaja of the State. There were two centres for missionary work in Mayurbhanj. One was at Baripada, the headquarters of the Mayurbhanj State which was started by the Baptist Missionaries in 1894. The Mission was called "The Mayurbhanj State Mission Council."[253] The other mission station was opened by the Roman Catholics at Nangalkanta, eight miles from Baripada on the Baripada - Balasore road. The land was given by the Maharaja K. C. Bhanja in 1879. In 1880, popularly named as the Nangalkanta Mission it founded a village in 1880, and named it after the Maharaja, Krushna Chandrapur.[254]

The Evangelical Missionary Society started its work in 1896. The members were inspired by Miss Gilbert who visited Mayurbhanj while working as a missionary in Bengal. She entrusted the evgangelization work to Miss Allenby who learnt Oriya in a short while and became popular. In the year 1902, a piece of land measuring 4.68 acres at Baripada opposite the court building was granted by Maharaja Shriram Chandra Bhanja for missionary purpose. They were associated with the State Leper Asylum in the outskirts of Baripada. Miss Allenby died in 1931. The mission was useful to the people of Baripada.[255] In 1901, there were 368 Christians.[256] and the percentage is only 0.10 per cent of the population.[257]

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Church in the Kondh hills and in the Santal region

The British Baptists began to work for the tribals of the Kond Hills by rehabilitating the victims of the Meriah Sacrifice. In the next phase they established their mission stations. They gave the people a tribal script for the Kui language, commonly spoken by these people. Civilization reached the interiors of Orissa where no government official had ventured. The American Baptists established the Santal Church in Northern Orissa.

The Santals had settlements at intervals and sometimes in considerable masses in the following districts of Bhagalpur, the Santal Parganas, Birbhum, Bankura, Hazaribagh, Manbhum, Midnapur, Singhbhum, Mayurbhanj and Balasore.[258]

The Konds, the tribal people of the hills lived in the Kondhmals (Phulbani sub-division) and Baud, Ghumsur (Baliguda sub-division) in the Kalahandi and Koraput districts and in the Bobbili Taluk of Andhra State.[259] Politically these tribals were under three separate authorities. The Kondhmals sub-division in the north was administered by Angul, the Balliguda sub-division was controlled by an Indian Civilian Collector (British) and portion of Ghumsur which was in the hill tracts was administered by an Indian Deputy Collector. The last two areas were within the Ganjam District and therefore were a part of Madras presidency. The whole of Kondh region however was known as the Hill—Tracts Agency and these Collectors had special powers as Agents to the Governors.[260]

Dense mixed forest covered the east and south east borders where the Kond Hills overlooked the coastal plains of Orissa. To the west and south-west where the hills are highest, the trees and creepers reached great heights, while to the north and north—west mixed forests were replaced by bamboo growth. The terrain was rough and full of ravines due to land erosion. In these areas travelling was done by a network of narrow footpaths and tracks. The tribals used to carry firewood, rice and other grains to different villages and markets.[261] Kui was the language commonly spoken by the tribals of these region. Generally reference to Kui people embraced the people of several origins speaking the Kui language. The term "Kond" refers to a particular group amongst the hill tribes. The Konds had survived "as a distinct nationality with a history, a religion, a language and a system of law and landed property of their own."[262]

According to Machperson's first report on the Konds, the latter were considered to be Dravidians and "no mythology or legend yet discovered furnishes any clue to their origin or place of descent.[263] They

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were the old aboriginal tribes of India who once lived in the plains of Orissa. When the Aryans invaded Orissa the tribals retreated to the hills. For centuries they lived in the hills untouched by the outside world.[264] Their occupation was cultivation, hunting and warfare, the latter being their seasonal occupation. Agricultural activities in some form or the other continued throughout the year. They were hard working, but very poor and illiterate.[265] They led a primitive life without any trace of a civilized being.

The Konds were animists and practised rituals and human sacrifice. Some of them believed in infanticide and were subject to excessive intoxication, with its attendant evils.[266] They lived in clusters of small villages as a community. They did not have the segregating caste system practised by the Hindus. The few Oriya villages near the Kond villages observed caste distinction.[267]

Apart from the Konds there lived in this hilly region, the Pans (or Doms as the Konds called them). They were artisans who must have been formerly low-caste Hindus. In every Kond village there was a colony of Pans.[268]

The occupation of these Pans were trade, weaving and theft. They lived on the ignorance and superstition of the Konds as brokers, sycophants and cheats.[269] With the Pans lived in some villages the Sundi people. They were Hindus and partially engaged in trading. The Oriyas were the inhabitants of the low lands in the Konds Hills region.[270] There was no social inter course between the Oriyas and the Konds. Occasionally Kond women were accepted by the Oriyas as concubines.[271]

Though there were diverse elements in this Kond region, the Konds were by far the largest single group, especially in the impregnable hills. W. W. Winfield's assessment from the 1921 census was that out of 450,000 Kui speaking people (Kond, Pans etc.) there were 150,000 Konds.[272]

It was not until 1835, that anything was known to the Indians about the Konds.[273] South-West of Ganjam was a tributary state known as Ghoomsur. Like some Garhjat States this State has also agreed to pay annual tributes to the British Government and had accepted their supremacy. In 1835, when the Raja turned a defaulter the British soldiers entered Ghoomsur territory. The Raja fled away to the Kond hills.[274]

The British soldiers entered this region and took him as a prisoner. For the first time when the Britishers entered the Kond region they came across the inhuman social practice prevalent amongst the hill tribes, like Meriah Sacrifice, female infanticide etc. According to the report presented by Mr. Russell (a member of the Madras Board of

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Revenue who in the capacity as Special Commissioner was given greater powers over this area) the Madras Governor appointed an Agent in 1841, to carry out the plans to suppress Meriah and female infanticide.[275]

Russell's report to the Government dated 12th August, 1836 was based on the evidence of officers who accompanied the force to the Kond country to capture the Raja of Ghumsur. The record report was submitted by Russell in May, 1837 suggesting cautious abolition of human sacrifice. British Officers like Captain Macpherson, Colonel Campbell and Captain Frye played a decisive role in suppressing this inhuman practice.[276]

During the organised suppression of the Meriah sacrifice, Government officers rescued many Kond boy and girl victims from death. These children were entrusted to the British Baptist missionaries of Orissa at Berhampur and Cuttack. They were placed in the orphan asylums and cared for by the missionaries.[277] To the Homes of the B.M.S. in Cuttack Col. Campbell had sent in 1849, 79 Meriah children in a day.[278] During the period of suppression of these practices in the Kond Hills the Orissa Mission records were full of stories of these innocent victims of a vicious socio-religious custom.[279]

When the missionaries of the G.B.M.S. in Orissa came to know about the existence of this tribal people they showed interest for these long neglected mountain people.

Some efforts in 1861, to work amongst the Konds did not materialise. In the annual meeting of the G. B. M. S. in England in June, 1862, it was decided to have two missionaries at Russellkonda who would make tours into the Kond Hills.[280] The Report of the Society made it clear that British flag had made things easier for the Cross in the Kond Hills. It mentioned that "The secular power had nobly given the aid that was necessary without which no European could safely have entered the country; upon its retirement it is most fitting that the opportunity should be embraced to attempt the spiritual subjugation of the people."[281]

Rev. John Orissa Goadby was appointed as a missionary at Rusellkonda to serve the Konds. His father Rev. John Goadby was a missionary. On his way to Orissa from England, a son was born to him and he named him John Orissa Goadby who also became a missionary in 1857.[282] In 1860, he had appealed to the Orissa Mission Committee opting to work as a missionary amongst the Konds.[283] He was appointed a missionary at Russellkonda in 1862.[284] Goadby was the first missionary to leave Britain with the sole intention of serving the Konds.

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During the cold season tours between 1862-63 he made reports of the land, the language, the religion of the Konds and during the more extensive tours in the 1864-65 cold season he explored possible route into the hills.[285] Dr. David Smith, a Government Sanitary Commissioner stated that Goadby was "delighted to penetrate into the solitary place of the Kond Hill Tracts, and there amidst the dirt, the drunkenness and destitution of the people, to do what lay in his power for their welfare and for the softening and enlightening of their savage natures."[286] In his cold season tours Goadby was accompanied by a rescued Meriah Kond and as he learned to speak little of Kui language groups of Konds gathered around him.[287]

In one of his tours Goadby had entered the Kond region by the Baminagam route and reached the furthest point reached by the Europeans at that time from the Balliguda side. Rev. Goadby learnt the language of the Konds and worked amongst them till 1867. The famine of 1866, in Orissa forced him to leave the Konds and look after the famine victims in the Pipli Orphanage. This kind of strenuous life led to his untimely death at Cuttack in 1868.[288] Mrs. B. M. Boal wrote- "It is an interesting speculation that had Goadby lived to continue his work, the movement towards Christianity might have been predominantly among the Kond tribe rather than among the Pan people who made up the great majority of its membership until the recent Kond movements in 1956."[289]

After Goadby's demise until 1873, nothing much was done when William Hill journeyed from Berhampur to the Kond country.[290] This surprising gap perhaps was a reflection of the change in western attitude towards the non-white races during the second half of the nineteenth century.[291] Leaders of the two main racial theories chose to be more uncompromising in the middle of the 19th century. The monogamists believed that, the non-white races had a right to the consolations of religion. The polygamists refused to treat the non-whites as full people at all and did not wish to make any missionary effort for them.[292]

In 1873, William Hill the missionary from Berhampur visited the Konds and did some preaching.[293] He was surprised to find much traffic in the Kond Hills and bullock carts were going up and down the hill paths which were once impossible.[294]

In the Orissa Mission Report of 1889, P. E. Heberlet has mentioned that in 1889, Niladri (an Oriya Evangelist) toured with Benjamin the Bible Society's colporteur for one and a half month and during their tours they entered the hills in Ghumsur among the Konds. They had to employ an interpreter to make them understand the gospel.[295] In

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several instances "they met with such deep and earnest attention that their hearts over-flowed with joy, and all the weary climbing over rough hill paths was forgotten."[296] At Udaigiri, the native submagistrate urged the preachers to have a mission station there. The place had a submagistrate's court, a dispensary, school and post office and it had a sizable population. The submagistrate offered to subscribe towards the location of a mission station to attend the services and to help in all possible way.[297]

The appeal of Mr. Naidu was mentioned in the Orissa Mission Report of 1889. It was answered by Abiather Wilkinson and Authur Long was decided to work for the Konds. They were followed by their fellow student Tom Wood.[298] The General Baptist Missionary Committee was approached but they were not ready for fresh commitment to work in the Kond Hills. The G.B.M.S. and the older and larger B.M.S. were busy in negotiating for their merger into one Society.[299] Long and Wilkinson ignored this handicap. An undenominational committee was formed for their support and they went to live as guests of the Baptists Mission in Berhampur to study the Oriya language.[300] In 1891, Wilkinson, Long and Wood were together in the hills. They toured two of the main districts Balliguda and Phulbani. In less than a year Wood died of malaria in Udayagiri.[301] Two years later, in 1893, the B. M. S. took up the responsibility of the mission work in the Konds Hills.[302] This freelance mission was adopted by the B. M. S. after due language examination.[303] Wilkinson died of small pox in 1898, at Russellkonda.[304]

The urgency to reach the Konds during this period was the effort of a few individuals rather than a direct policy of the society. Earlier in the 19th century in Africa the problem had been to coordinate the work of the highly individualistic missionaries under the guidance of a mission as a functioning unit. This was a problem in the Kond Hills, but the remaining member A. Long lived to bring a compromise between these two kinds of attitudes.[305] After the death of pioneers like Goadby and Wilkinson, a two months tour was undertaken in the hills in 1899 by Rev. Gordon Wilkins and Rev. F. W. Jarry. It is more of a tour of inspection to gather information for future work.[306] Arthur Long continued to work amongst the Konds and he was very popular amongst them. Mrs. Bevan Jones wrote - "He was one of the keenest evangelists I have ever met, and his wife was as keen as himself."[307] He was not very good in preaching in Kui language as is evident from his diaries. He preached in several villages round Udayagiri in 19th of January, 1905, and in the Tikkabbali market, on 7th December, 1906. He found, the people failed to understand the gospel

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when he preached in Oriya. Thereafter he decided not to go on tours but to reside at G. Udayagiri and learn the Kui language. He tried preaching in Kui on 6th March, 1909 which he found very awkward.[308] He had done some translations to fair Kui language and had translated the gospel into Kui in 1893.

Arthur Long was very dedicated to the cause of the Konds. He wrote innumerable personal letters, published articles in the Press, appealed to his own colleague and others, and addressed church meetings during his two furloughs in which he stressed upon the missionary work to be done in this region.[309] He encouraged missionary work by accompanying C. E. Wilson of the B. M. S. in 1905, and Dr. Moorshead in 1906, in their tours to the Kond Hills.[310] He persuaded the latter to open a hospital in this region which materialised at a later stage.

Another aspect of Long's work had far reaching consequences. In 1905, he played the chief part in persuading the Arthington Committee to adopt the Kond mission and to fund the next stages. He sent to Alfred Henry Baynes, the Secretary of the B. M. S. twenty two pages of required data and guidance, drawings, maps and enclosure of the District Officer and Magistrate of Boad.[311] His efforts therefore led to the Arthington Committee's financing the mission work among the Konds. He did not survive long to see this benefit.[312]

He died of blackwater fever in April, 1909[313] but not before he had motivated John Biswas, a Telugu speaking student at Cuttack Theological College, to become the first Indian Volunteer to work in the Kond Hills.[314] He was popularly known as John Aba.[315]

John Biswas was first stationed as an evangelist at Russellkonda. Though keen to go to the hills he was not allowed unless there was another native to assist him. A schoolmaster accompanied him and they had spent the whole of May, 1909 in the hill tracts. After returning the master fell ill but Biswas continued to work amongst the Konds.[316]

After Long's death, work amongst the Konds were carried on by four youngmen. One of them was from Australia. The Baptists of Australia had a good missionary record of carrying on missionary work in Bengal and especially amongst the Garos, the hill tribals and animists in the foothills of the Himalays in Assam. These four were asked to construct an accommodation for a resident missionary at G. Udayagiri and to serve there.[317]

Several preaching tours were made by Grimes and Horsburgh and regular preaching was done in the markets at Udayagiri, Tikkavali and Raika. John Biswas was a familiar figure in these preaching tours.

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He was a musician and attracted the village crowds by playing his violin.[318] Many of these tours were conducted within a radius of five to twenty miles from G. Udaigiri. Therefore churches grew up between 5, 10, 15 and 20 miles from the Centre.[319] From the evangelical point of view the progress in the Konds Hills was not satisfactory. The Meriah boys and girls who were under missionary care in the orphanages of Orissa became "keen christians, baptised members of the Mission Church."[320] In the hills people's "response was one of curiosity occasionally tempered by suspicion."[321] In such a situation O. J. Millman made significant contribution. He was a missionary educationalist. He opened schools where the medium of teaching was in Kui language. A few government sponsored primary schools were in the Kond Hills. The Hindu teachers of the plains taught here in Oriya. There was hardly any response. Millman's Kui speaking school however attracted men and boys and even girls. Then came many opportunities to preach the gospel through family contacts.[322]

On Easter Sunday 1914, the first baptism took place amongst the Konds.[323] Unlike baptism in the plains the Konds as a family got baptized.

A family of four got baptised in 1914. They were Bisi, a village priest, his wife Lasuri, their son Bondia and his brother-in-law Kusi. Their family was ostracized and blamed for any outbreak of sickness or deaths.[324] Other families drew strength from Bisi's example and gradually the Mallikapori Church was formed. Especially when Pato a Mallikapori neighbour and a government school teacher was baptised with his wife the first church was formed.[325]

The early years of the Church in the Kond Hills coincided with the great event i.e. the outbreak of the First World War. Mr. E. Evans the missionary was requested to form a Kui Labour Corps and accompany it to Mesopotamia. As their chaplain, he convinced them of the gospel and gained some converts when they returned to their hills in 1919.[326] Some of them were from Millman's school and were mostly Pans. A literate church leadership gradually developed.[327]

In 1917 the missionary O. J. Millman was forced to leave the Kond Hills when his baby daughter died and his wife became seriously ill. After his departure two young missionaries worked. They were J. Johnson and W. Winfield.[328] The mission was strengthened when the missionary D. Scott Wells joined in 1924.[329] In 1925, Miss Dorothy Millward and Miss Stephens were the female missionaries from Berhampur and Cuttack Mission stations to look after the Kond women. Next year Miss Daisy Web and Miss Loveleen followed them.[330] Miss Daisy Web had twelve years of experience of educational work in

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Cuttack. She faced the new language and work in Udayagiri.[331] Kond Hills was also visited by Miss M. E. Bowser, B. M. S. Women's Auxiliary Secretary with Miss Elizabeth and Miss Dorothy Glover.

In 1929, Hugh Martin of the student Christian movement visited this region.[332] The same year H. W. Pike of Cuttack visited the Kond Hills and mentioned - "I saw the first Kond Church, the first Kond girls school, the first Kond girl teacher, the first Kond convert, the first evangelist's grave in the Hill Tracts - quite a chapter of "Genesis".[333]

In the early part of 1927, there was a movement enmasse amongst the Pans of the Dombinaja village. Except for one or two animistic families there were fortyfour enquirers in this village. On 25th December, 1927 these enquirers were baptised (including the headman and his family). The village was renamed Kristian Najir.[334]

Between the years 1914-19 there were 25 baptisms, between 1920-24, 63 baptisms; between 1925-29, 403 baptisms; and between 1930-34 there were 607 baptisms; and between 1934-42 there were 1,545 baptisms.[335] B. M. Boal mentions that in 1930, the Church had 400 baptized members. These members with their children and learners met for worship in sixteen village centres. Three Kui evangelists were appointed. But most of the Sunday services was conducted by the missionaries and Kui day school teachers. This pattern was followed during the first fifty years of the Church. In each of these local churches some Dadaru (elder brothers) and Baisaka (elder sister) were appointed from the amongst the native Christians. They acted as liasons between the missionaries and the Church in matters of Church discipline and with regards to enquirers.[336]

C. E. Wilson, the B. M. S. Secretary visited G. Udayagiri in 1931, and mentioned about the Mission which according to him "is very simple and native in its methods, and converts are being added in a most encouraging way.[337] During the dry season of 1931, the Deri Sobha or Great Meeting of the entire Christian population of the hills was organised for the first time. Then it became an annual occurence and a source of joy and inspiration to the churches.[338] This kind of gathering fostered friendship and community feeling amongst the christians of the hills.

The Church grew spontaneously. Millman's "school boys brought their parents, isolated christians brought groups, groups brought their relatives. Many new areas were opened up by Millman's ex-school boys. Having trained as teachers, they went to live and work in isolated government primary schools. Their evenings and weekends were spent in fostering the growth of new groups which were then con-

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nected to the mission centre."[339] In 1931, as the churches developed they became united under the name of the Kond Hills Christian Church Union, hitherto referred to as Union.[340] According to the B. M. S., till 1936, there were 18 organised churches (9 more baptized groups without a church building) 10 wholetime evangelists and a church membership of 932.[341] The number increased to thirty churches by 1940. Out of these 5 were in the Balliguda area, fifty miles west of G. Udayagiri, with enquirers as far away as Kommonkhole, at the westward foot of the hill tracts. Due to the distance pastoral supervision was difficult. Therefore Area Supervisors were appointed to take charge of a district. In 1945, there were 40 churches in the Kond Hills and in 1950 there were 49. In 1950, a constitution was adopted by these churches and by this the Mission was more closely integrated with the church life. More authority was exercised by the elected members of the church from the local church to the Union level.[342]

The Kond Hill churches were not entirely autonomous bodies. They were under the direction, supervision and control of the Church Union. They had a greater voice than other Baptist Churches. They had a structure from the levels of local churches in the hills to the Utkal Christian Church Central Council (U.C.C.C.C.) with its headquarters at Cuttack.[343]

Since the Kui speaking people were very loyal to their village community they accepted Christianity more at times as a commitment to their community. People in groups as a family accepted Christianity. In the plains Christianity was accepted individually. A man became a christian, his wife and children remained Hindus throughout their life.[344]

Kui women, both married and single had more independence in comparison to their Hindu counterpart in the plains. Therefore the beginning of Christianity in the Konds Hills there have been women deacons in the local churches and women representatives at the various religious meetings.[345]

It is to be acknowledged that there existed some conflicts of conscience of the Kui people after conversion. There were at times serious lapses. There was temptation to make a sacrifice or offering to their deity amongst the older Christians. Drinking of intoxicants (like toddy or mohua) was not acceptable to Christianity.[346] Tribals went their own way after becoming converts.[347]

It was difficult for the Christians of the hills to abstain from non-christian rituals and sacrifices. Their community living made them to face the challenges of group behaviour, such as birth or wedding celebration, mourning, ceremonial dancing, crop sacrifice etc. At times

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money was given in lieu of abstention. Some have been continued in a chastened form.

The most interesting development in the Kond Hills, was the Pans became converts to Christianity in greater numbers than the Konds. Dr. Donald Mc Gavran, an experienced missionary of the United Christian Missionary Society made a case study of the situation and revealed that "the Church in the Kond Hills was not a Kond Church."[348] In the 1931, Census of India, W. G. Lacey, I.C.E., Superintendent of the Census operations for Bihar and Orissa wrote : "It will be seen that there is a fairly steady increase in the proportion of Christians in each tribe, except with the Konds."[349] The Station Committee of the Kond Hills Church gave a statistics of the number of Konds baptized in 1914 were 41, in 1924 were 82, and in 1934 were 829.[350] According to Dr. Mc Gavran, Christianity offered the prospects of a non-caste community which did not appeal to the Konds.[351] L. N. Sahu a member of the Servants of India Society mentioned "Kondhas have not become Christians. It is the Panas of Kandhamal who have been converted to Christianity.[352]

In 1927, a movement to accept Christianity favoured amongst the Pans. Many from the Dombinaju village became converts.[353] It shrunk during the war, prospered during 1946 and 1947 and grew slowly since then. The Konds were won here and there as individuals, as families and occasionally as small groups of families.[354] In 1934, some seven or eight Kond families of a village became christians. When they attended the annual Christian feast that year they found they had to eat with the Pans who had also become converts. The Konds always considered them salves to be superior to the Pans. Therefore they disliked the idea of sharing in a feast. They refused and reverted.[355] Relapse leading to re-entry into the old religion was a unique phenomenon amongst the Kui people. It was more prevalent amongst the illiterate and the semi educated members of the Kond Church.[356] Unlike the Hindus of the plains the people of this region could gain reentry into their old religion if they chose to.

There were lapses on the part of the tribal christians which at times did not lead to formal readmission into the old religion, but simply a reversion to old ways. This happened more with Kui men who could not keep away from drinking parties and at times with women who performed sacrifices.[357] This was more with the older members of the Church who found it difficult to give up their old habits.

Nevertheless few Christians gave up sacrifices and drinking which was economically ruinous for the Kui people.

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A Kui script, Kui teaching schools and grammar and school books in Kui language were the benefits given by the missionaries. Some kind of civilization reached the hills through these benefactors. When the Baptists were active in this region the Roman Catholics of the Spanish mission operated from Sorada. The Catholic mission laid emphasis on education, teacher training facilities and offered free-education which made them popular. Their colourful form of worship attracted the tribals. They allowed toddy drinking which was a part of Kui life. This made them more receptive towards Christianity. Some Protestants also defected to the Roman Catholic Community. They used Oriya as their medium of communication. Therefore the Protestant Church until 1956 was influential amongst the Kui speaking Pans whereas Catholic influence was more amongst the Oriya speaking Pans. To some extent financial aid to the Protestant mission in the Kond Hills was provided by the United Christian Missionary Society of the American Disciples of Christ.[358]

Santals - Christianity entered the Santal region due to the efforts of the American Free Will Baptist Missionaries of Orissa. The Santals had settled in northern Orissa bordering Bihar, Bengal and Orissa. They had no written language and spoke Santali.

Describing the Santals D. M. Albaugh wrote that they were "a strong and virile aboriginal people in Bihar and Orissa. They number 3 million—an agricultural people who seem to drift to wherever work is available—economically poor—high degree of illiteracy—only a half of one percent are able to read and write."[359] The Santals had preserved two features of the earlier stages of civilization. Though for the most part they had settled as cultivators, they were very good in converting wasteland and jungles into fertile rice fields. When these fields lost their fertility due to cultivation they selected a new site and returned to the backwoods. A second feature is they were very good hunters and enjoyed hunting sessions armed with spears, axes, bows and arrows, clubs, sticks and stones.[360] They were simple, blunt, straightforward, cheerful and honest in their dealings. They kept their word and a knot tied on a string was as good as a receipt.[361] The Santals were neither Hindus nor Muslims, they had no mosques or temples.[362] They were extremely religious.

Their religion was a mixture of Hindu superstition and demon worship. They believed in witches and ghosts. They worshipped Sun as their supreme deity. In Orissa, Lita or Marang-Buru was mostly honoured by prayers and by offerings such as goats, bullocks, fowls, rice etc.[363] Animal sacrifice was common amongst the Santals, but human sacrifice was rare and was kept secret.

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J. Phillips, the American Missionary came to know that few Santals offered human beings to Rangkimi their Goddess for obtaining wealth. This was done occasionally, was kept secret and performed by few Santals at certain locations.[364]

The Santals were fond of drinking and merriment. They celebrated their harvest festival with gusto indulging in drinking, dancing, singing and indulging in sex. The Santali women enjoyed considerable freedom. In addition to house hold work they were engaged in much outdoor work.[365]

The American Missionaries stationed in Northern Orissa first came across the Santals in 1838, in one of their preaching tours.[366]

In 1841, Phillips and Bachelor toured amongst the Santals. However nothing much was done for them until 1845. A Santali teacher was brought and Phillips was trained in Santali language.[367] The traditions and customs of the Santals reminded them of the aboriginal Red Indians in America.[368]

Preaching, teaching and distributing tracts was the main work of the American missionaries amongst the Santals. This was done in Santali, Bengali and Oriya languages.

The missionaries were partly successful in evangelizing the Santals through their medical skills. They opened dispensaries and did some preaching while nursing the sick. They also provided medicines free of cost as they were unable to pay for it.[369]

Due to the problems arising out of the famine of 1840, several Santals had accepted Christianity. Rev. Phillips had stated - "The great distress among the poorer classes of people occasioned by the scarcity of this year, induced them to give us their children. At another time it was next to impossible to get even the child of a beggar to educate on Christian principles, so great is the attachment to caste." Therefore conversion followed natural calamities.[370] Some converts came from the missionaries' asylum.

In 1845, two Santals and in 1847, several Santals were converted.[371] It was during the famine of 1866, many Santals became converts under distress.[372]

The Santals were addicted to drinking. On the other hand the missionaries were strict about prohibition. Once when a missionary was trying to convert a Santal headman he enquired whether Jesus would allow old people to get drunk twice a week. When he heard the negative reply of the missionary he quietly said, "Then teach the boys and girls, but leave us alone."[373] Older generation of the Santals were therefore less interested in giving up their faith.

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Caste system was not very rigid amongst the Santals. Some Santals returned to their own community which was possible after embracing Christianity. This was unlikely amongst the Oriya converts.[374] There was objections in some cases of Santal conversion and they were treated as outcastes. Though they were not rigid about castes but at times they did not accept conversion to Christianity. After becoming converts the Santals were trained to be teachers in Santal Schools or as native preachers. A few of them were provided employment in mission farms, schools etc. where they were paid.[375] An interesting fact of Santal conversion is that the missionaries changed the names of the Santals after their conversion. But the Oriya converts still retained their old names.[376]

Growth of the Churches and the Mission

When Churches were first formed in Orissa, the converts were inexperienced to handle it efficiently. Therefore missionaries were its natural leaders who directed both the evangelical work and the administration side of Church life.[377] When these Churches grew in experience and there were no dearth of Indian leaders the necessity arose for a cooperation between the Church and the mission.

In the first instance some of the Churches in Orissa launched their own campaign of winning Orissa to Christ. The Cuttack Church started a forward movement for evangelizing and formed the Indian Auxiliary Mission.[378]

During the Christmas week of 1866, the Oriya Christian Preacher Rev. Shem Sahu had delivered a speech to the native Christian community encouraging them to form an indigenous organisation for evangelization. The result was, on Ist of January 1876, the Oriya Christians assembled at Christinapore and decided to form the Indian Auxiliary Mission. Later on it was renamed as the 'Cuttack Auxiliary Mission.' The Deputy Magistrate of Cuttack Mr. Kailash Chandra Ghosh became its President, Mr. Dasarathi Rout its secretary and Mr. Sadananda G. Jachak its treasurer of this Society. It was decided that the money for the purpose will be collected only from the native christians. The missionaries were not invited to the meetings of the Society, they were informed about the proceedings of the meetings. Within the first three months of the formation of the Society the collection was Rs.336/-.[379]

This native organisation wished to begin its work at Nadhiali in Dhenkanal. When the members did not receive any information from the Raja of Dhenkanal to set up their mission they decided to help

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the Khurda Church and supported a pastor there. In course of time due to lack of funds the Cuttack Auxiliary Mission was closed in 1887.[380] The Cuttack Church then resumed its work of evangelization in a different area. Between 1881 and 1900, preaching parties were deputed to Angul division which was midway between Cuttack and Sambalpur. A Muslim gypsy of this area Karim Khan picked up the threads and started talking about Christ amongst the Hindus and Muslims.[381]

The Indian Baptist Missionary Society which was formed in 1899, was also a product of the Cuttack Church.[382] Mr. Samson Chandra Das and some prominent members of the Cuttack Church decided to have a Church which would embrace the whole of Oriya Christians. Other churches became interested and joined, helping in funds and other ways. Like the Cuttack Auxiliary Mission, the I.B.M.S. had chosen Dhenkanal as their venue of operation. Work started in Madhi, but due to difficulties they shifted to Angul. In 1899, Atyananda Sahu who had been deputed to work in Madhi was also engaged in Angul.[383] Others like Madan Mohan Routray and Balunkeswar Pradhan successively worked here. Dayanidhi Behera had worked under the mission as a colporteur here. These workers visited the villages of this Garhjat area and converted some of the Muslim Banjaras.[384] Even the Deputy Commissioner of Angul encouraged the Christian boys to settle and work in government offices in Angul. An indigenous Christian Church grew up independent of outside help. Other smaller Churches in identical pattern developed in the neighbourhood. Due to lack of funds the I.B.M.S. closed down in 1915, and the Angul station was taken over by the B.M.S.[385]

Earlier in 1908, the Utkal Christian Church Union had been formed at Cuttack. In the Christmas week of that year the All Orissa C. E. Convention was held at Cuttack and was attended by delegates from all over Orissa. In 1909, in the same Christmas week about sixty delegates from different churches in Orissa attended a conference in Cuttack. As a result the Utkal Christian Council was formed. The Churches associated with the American Free Will Baptist Mission inside Orissa sent their representatives. They joined this union and co-operated in its work for several years.[386] The B. M. S. missionary Rev. H. W. Pike and Rev. G. S. Wilkinson and the American Missionary Rev. Hamen worked for this.

In the beginning, the Utkal Christian Church Union engaged retired workers of the B. M. S. (Baptist Missionary Society) for evangelical work. Afterwards the Union sent some of its candidates to be trained in the B. M. S. Theological College. Many Christian villages were provided with pastors for their Church by the U.C.C.U.[387]

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The U.C.C.U. had established a Church at Jatni and had helped in evangelical work at Sambalpur. For many years the Christian Journal 'Pravati Tara' was published by this Union and in the enlarged edition some Christian poems was also published.[388]

In due course the B. M. S. and the U. C. C. U. did not give each other mutual support. Therefore the latter gradually lost supporters and survived for only 25 years i.e. from 1908-1933. Towards the end of its career it was not very much successful as its founders had hoped. Finally in 1933, at an Easter meeting in Puri the work of the U. C. C. U. and the mission was merged and another organisation was formed named as the Utkal Baptist Central Church Council. Mr. Reid, then Indian Secretary worked hard for this kind of integration. Since then indigenous churches in Orissa and the B. M. S. worked together.[389] The Utkal Baptist Central Church Council consisted of six District Church Unions i.e. Cuttack, Puri, Ganjam, Sambalpur, West Utkal and the Kond Hills. The Central Council was formed and it was the body through which the activities of the B. M. S. were directed. The evangelical work of the B. M. S. in its specified areas were controlled by this council and all grants available for evangelical work was administered through it.[390]

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115. J. Peggs, *A History of the General Baptist Mission*, P.335.
116. *Ibid.*, P.338.
117. C. C. O., *On Christian Missions in Orissa*, N.S. Vol.X, No.120, O.S. Vol. XVIII No.211, P.540.
118. J. Peggs, *A History of the General Baptist Mission*, P.343.
119. *Ibid.*, P.339.
120. Rev. B. H. Badley, *Indian Missionary Directory and Memorial Volume*, P.166.
121. *A Statistical Account of Bengal (Districts of Cuttack and Balasore)* W. W. Hunter Vol. XVIII, P.279.
122. Rev. B. H. Badley, *Indian Missionary Directory and Memorial Volume*, P.166.
123. *A Statistical Account of Bengal (Districts of Cuttack and Balasore)*, W.W. Hunter, Vol. XVIII, P.279.
124. *Ibid.*
125. J. Peggs, *A History of the General Baptist Mission*, P.282. A. Sutton,

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Orissa and its Evangelization, P.298. Compiled by Brajasundar Das - Orissa in Hamilton's Hindustan, P.1.

126. Letter dated March-September 1839, from C. Wilkinson, wife of H. Wilkinson Baptist Missionary in Orissa from 1839 to 1859 to friends in England, describing their first few months in Orissa (India Office Records, European Manuscripts) MSS Eur G - 71.
127. J. Peggs, *A History of the General Baptist Mission*, P.282. - (Brooks was a British Baptist Missionary who worked in this place from 1836 till 1841) J. Peggs - PP.282-84.
128. J. C. E., *Orissa Baptist Mission*, P.356.
129. A. Sutton, *Orissa and its Evangelization*, P.298. The cost of the construction of the Chapel was 1,500 rupees, - J. Peggs, P.283.
130. Letter dated March-September, 1839 from C. Wilkinson to friends of England M.S.S. Eur G - 71 (India Office Records and European Manuscripts).
131. J. Peggs, *A History of the General Baptist Mission*, P.283.
132. *Ibid.*, PP.283-84.
133. *Ibid.*
134. J. Peggs, *A History of the General Baptist Mission*, P.285. (Mr Stubbins had abandoned his work at Berhampur in Southern Orissa due to failing health.) - J. Peggs, P.285.
135. *Ibid.*, P.348.
136. Rev. B. H. Badley, *Indian Missionary Directory and Memorial Volume*, P.166.
137. J. Peggs, *A History of the General Baptist Mission*, P.348.
138. Rev. M.A. Sherring, *The History of Protestant Missions in India*, P.152.
139. J. Peggs, *A History of the General Baptist Mission*, P.292.
140. *Ibid*, P.293.
141. *Ibid*, P.296.
142. C. C. O., *On Christian Missions in Orissa*, N. S. Vol.X, No.120 O.S. Vol.- XVIII, 21 December, 1849, P.554.
143. J. C. E., *Orissa Baptist Mission*, P.193. J. Peggs, *A History of the General Baptist Mission*, P.275.
144. A. Sutton, *Orissa and its Evangelization*, P.300.
145. J. C. E., *Orissa Baptist Mission*, P.194. J. Peggs, *A History of the General Baptist Mission*, P.275.
146. A Sutton, *Orissa and its Evangelization*, P.301.
147. Letter dated March-September, 1839 from C. Wilkinson to friends of England M.S.S. Eur G-71 (India Office Records and European Manuscripts.)
148. *On Christian Missions in Orissa*, N.S. Vol - X, No.120, O.S. Vol. XVIII, No.211, P.554.
149. J. Peggs, *A History of the General Baptist Mission*, 276.
150. M. A. Sherring, *The History of Protestant missions in India*, P.153.
151. P. K. Patra, *Orissare Baptist Missionary Societyra Karya*, .. PP.83-84.
152. J. Peggs, *A History of the General Baptist Mission*, P.277.
153. *Ibid.*, P.279.

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154. C. C. O., *On Christian Missions in Orissa*, N. S. Vol. X, No. 120, O. S. Vol. XVIII, No. 211, December, 1849, P.554.
155. C. C. O., *On Christian Missions in Orissa*, N. S. Vol. X, No. 120, O. S. Vol. XVIII December, 1849, P.555.
156. *Ibid.*
157. P. K. Patra, *Orissare Baptist Missionary Societyra Karya* ...P.84.
158. J. Peggs, *A History of the General Baptist Mission*, PP.279-81.
159. P. K. Patra, *Orissare Baptist Missionary Societyra Karya* ...PP. 85-87.
160. *Ibid.*, PP.85-88.
161 *Ibid.*, PP.83-86.
162. *Ibid.*, PP.89-93.
163. J. Peggs, *A History of the General Baptist Mission*, PP.286-87.
164. P. K. Patra, *Orissare Baptist Missionary Societyra Karya*, PP. 89-90.
165. J. C. E., *Orissa Baptist Mission*, P.191.
166. P. K. Patra, *Orissare Baptist Missionary Societyra Karya*, PP. 89-90.
167. *Ibid.*, P.89.
168. J. Peggs, *A History of the General Baptist Mission*, P. 291.
169. P. K. Patra, *Orissare Baptist Missionary Societyra Karya*, ..P. 207.
170. *Ibid.*, PP. 207-08.
Telugu was spoken by the majority of the population of Southern Ganjam.
171. P. K. Patra, *Orissare Baptist Missionary Societyra Karya*, .. PP. 208-09.
172. *Ibid.*, P. 209.
173. *Report of the Canadian Baptist Mission*, July 1914 - June 1915.
174. *Report of the Canadian Baptist Mission* July 1914 -June, 1915.
Report of the Canadian Baptist Mission July, Ist 1916 to 30th June, 1917.
175. *Report of the Canadian Baptist Mission* July 1914-June 1915, PP. 12-13.
176. *Report of the Canadian Baptist Mission* Ist July, 1916 - 30th June, 1917, PP. 52-53.
177. *Ibid.*
178. *Report of the Canadian Baptist Mission*, 1st July 1916 to 30th June 1917, PP. 52-53.
179. *Report of the Canadian Baptist Mission*, July 1914 - June, 1915, P. 7.
180. *Report of the Canadian Baptist Mission* Ist July, 1916 to 30th June, 1917, P. 53.
181. *Report of the Canadian Baptist Mission*, July 1914 - June, 1915, PP. 36-37.
Report of the Canadian Baptist Mission Ist July, 1916 to 30th June, 1917, P. 67.
182. *Report of the Canadian Baptist Mission* Ist July 1916 - 30th June, 1917, P. 67.
183. *Ibid.*, P.73.
184. *Bihar and Orissa District Gazetteers*, Sambalpur by L.S.S.O.' Malley, P. 81. L.S.S.O. 'Malley, Bengal, Bihar, *Orissa and Sikkim*, P.192.
185. L.S.S.O.'Malley, Bengal, Bihar, *Orissa and Sikkim*, P.192.
186. *Bihar and Orissa District Gazetteers, Sambalpur by L.S.S.O. 'Malley*, P. 81.

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187. *Report of the Canadian Baptist Mission*, Ist July, 1916 to 30th June, 1917, P. 73.
188. Report of the Canadian Baptist Mission, 1st July 1917 to 30th June 1917, P. 74.
189. *Ibid.*, PP. 74-75.
190. *Ibid.*
191. *Bihar and Orissa District Gazetters—Sambalpur L.S.S.O.' Malley*, 1932, PP. 261-62.
192. J. Peggs, *Sambalpur Zillare Christadharmara Ayarombha O Pragati*, PP. 5-6.
N. Senapati and B. Mahanti, PP. 120-21.
193. D.S. Wells, *One hundred and fiftieth Anniversary of the Baptist Missionary Society in India*, PP. 113-14.
194. *Orissa District Gazetteers, Sambalpur* edited by N. Senapati and B. Mahanty, P. 121.
195 P.K. Patra, *Orissare Baptist Missionary Societyra Karya*, P. 105.
196. J. Das, *Sambalpur Zillare Christadharmara Ayarombha O Pragati*, P. 8.
197. *Ibid*, P. 11.
198. P.K. Patra, *Orissare Baptist Missionary Societyra Karya*, P. 109.
199. *Ibid*, P. 112.
200. J. Das, *Sambalpur Zillare Christadharmara Ayarombha O Pragati*, P. 12.
201. *Ibid.*, PP. 12-13.
202. D. S. Wells, *One hundred and fiftieth Anniversary of the Baptist Missionary Society in India* (1792-1942), P. 113.
203. *Bengal District Gazetteers, Sambalpur* edited by L.S.S.O.' Malley, P. 64.
204. D.S. Wells, *One hundred and fiftieth Anniversary of the Baptist Missionary Society in India* (1792-1942), P. 113.
205. P.K. Patra, *Orissare Baptist Missionary Societyra Karya*, P. 106.
206. D.S. Wells, *One hundred and fiftieth Anniversary of the Baptist Missionary Society in India* (1792-1942), P. 113.
207. J. Das, *Sambalpur Zillare Christadharmara Ayarombha O Pragati*, P. 17.
208. *Ibid.*
209. P.K. Patra, *Orissare Baptist Missionary Societyra Karya*, P. 108.
210. *Ibid.*, PP. 18-27.
211. *Ibid*, PP. 110-12.
212. *Ibid.*, P. 112.
213. D. S. Wells, *One hundred and fiftieth anniversary of the Baptist Missionary Society in India* (1792-1942), P. 115.
214. J. Das, *Sambalpur Zillare Christadharmara Ayarombha O Pragati*, P. 42.
215. *Bengal District Gazetteers, Sambalpur* edited by L.S.S.O.' Malley, P. 64.
216. *Bihar and Orissa District Gazetteers, Sambalpur L.S.S.O.' Malley*, P. 71.
217. P.K. Patra, *Orissare Baptist Missionary Societyra Karya*, P. 108.
218. J. Das, *Sambalpur Zillare Christadh-armara Ayavombha O Progati*, P. 31.
219. *Bengal District Gazetteers - Sambalpur* edited by L.S.S.O.' Malley, P.64.
220. *Bihar and Orissa District Gazetteers, Sambalpur* edited by L.S.S.O.' Malley, P.71.
221. *Orissa District Gazetteers, Sambalpur edited* by N. Senapati and B. Mahanti, P. 121.

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222. P. K. Patra, *Orissare Baptist Missionary Societyra Karya*, P.116.
223. L. E. B., *Cobden Ramsay, Bengal Gazetteers, Feudatory States of Orissa*, PP. 177-78.
224. D. S. Wells, *One hundred and fiftieth anniversary of the Baptist Missionary Society in India* (1792-1942), P. 110.
225. *Ibid.*
226. *Ibid.*
227. *Ibid*, P.115.
228. P. K. Patra, *Orissare Baptist Missionary Societyra Karya*, PP. 116-17.
229. D. S. Wells, *One hundred and fiftieth Anniversary of the B.M.S. in India* (1792-1942), P. 115.
230. *Ibid.*
231. P. K. Patra, *Orissare Baptist Missionary Societyra Karya*, PP. 116-17.
232. *Bihar and Orissa District Gazetteers. Sambalpur edited by L.S.S.O.'Malley*, P. 71.
233. *Orissa District Gazetteers, Bolangir* edited by N. Senapati and N. K. Sahu, P.105.
234. P. K. Patra, *Orissare Baptist Missionary Societyra Karya*, P. 115.
235. *Orissa District Gazetteers, Bolangir* edited by N. Senapati and N. K. Sahu, P. 105.
236. D. S. Wells, *One hundred and fiftieth Anniversary of the B.M.S. in India* (1792-1942), P. 116.
237. *Ibid.*
238. *Ibid.*
239. P. K. Patra, *Orissare Baptist Missionary Societyra Karya*, P. 116.
240. D. S. Wells, *One hundred and fiftieth Anniversary of the B.M.S. in India* (1792-1942), P. 117.
241. P. K. Patra, *Orissare Baptist Missionary Societyra Karya*, PP. 116-17. D. S. Wells, *One hundred and fiftieth anniversary of the B.M.S. in India* (1792-1942), P. 117.
242. D. S. Wells, *One hundred and fiftieth anniversary of the B.M.S. in India*, P. 117.
243. P. K. Patra, *Orissare Missionary Societyra Karya*, PP. 120-21. D. S. Wells, *One hundred and fiftieth anniversary of the B.M.S. in India* (1792-1942), P.117.
244. D. S. Wells, *One hundred and fiftieth Anniversary of the B.M.S. in India*, PP. 136-38.
245. *Bihar and Orissa District Gazetteers, Sambalpur* edited by L.S.S.O.' Malley, P. 266.
246. *Orissa District Gazetteers, Koraput* edited by N. Senapati and N. K. Sahu, P.111.
247. *Ibid*, P. 112.
248. *The Orissa District Gazetteers, Koraput* edited by R. C. Bell, P. 60.
249. *Report of the Canadian Baptist Mission*, July 1914—June 1915, P.36.
250. *Orissa District Gazetteers - Sundergarh* edited by N. Senapati and D. C. Kuanr, P.102.
251. *Ibid.*

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252. *Augustine Kanjamala, Religion and Modernisation of India,* P. 37.
253. *L.E.B. Cobden Ramsay, Bengal Gazetteers - Feudatory States of Orissa,* P. 242.
254. *Orissa District Gazetteers, Mayurbhanj* edited by N. Senapati and N. K. Sahu, P. 128. *L.E.B. Cobden Ramsay, Bengal Gazetteers - Feudatory States of Orissa,* P. 242
255. *The Orissa District Gazetteers, Mayurbhanj* edited by N. Senapati and D. C. Kuanr, P.128.
256. *L.E.B. Cobden Ramsay, Bengal Gazetteers, Feudatory States of Orissa,* P. 242.
257. *Census of Mayurbhanj State 1931* Vol. Report by Mahammed Lacequiddin Census Officer, Mayurbhanj State.
258. *A Statistical Account of Bengal* Vol. XIV, P. 308. Bhagalpur and Santal Paraganas W. W. Hunter.
259. P. Mukherjee, *History of Orissa in the 19th Century,* Vol.VI, P. 482.
260. B. M. Boal, *The Church in the Kond Hills,* P. 10. This was the political division in 1909. Kondmals - a part of the feudatory State of Boudh was taken over by the British Government in 1855 for direct administration as the ruling chief was unable to control the rebellious Konds - Orissa District Gazetteers edited by N. Senapati and D. C. Kuanr, P. 295.
261. B. M. Boal, *The Church in the Kond Hills,* P. 4.
262. *Imperial Gazetteers, 1885,* Vol. XV, P. 233.
263. B. M. Boal, The Konds, P. 1. Calcutta Review - Vol.-V, No.IX, (Jan-March) 1846 Macpherson Report - Account of a British officer who visited this region in the middle of the 19th century.
264. D.S. Wells, *One hundred and fiftieth anniversary of the B.M.S. in India* (1792-1942), P. 118.
265. B. M. Boal, *The Konds - Human Sacrifice and Religious change,* P. 27.
266. *A. Sutton, Orissa and its Evangelization,* PP. 95-96.
267. *B. M. Boal, The Konds,* P. 16.
268. *Ibid.,* PP.1-3.
269. *Imperial Gazetteers of India,* Vol. XVIII, P. 88. B. M. Boal, The Konds-Human Sacrifice and Religious change, PP. 2-3.
270. B. M. Boal, *The Konds - Human Sacrifice and Religious Change,* P. 4. The Oriyas spoke the Oriya language.
271. *Ibid.*
272. W.W. Winfield, *A Grammar of the Kui Language 1928,* PP. 228-29 The Asiatic Society of Bengal, Calcutta. D. S. Wells, One hundred and fiftieth anniversary of the B.M.S. in India (1792-1942), P.118.
273. *One hundred and fiftieth anniversary of the B.M.S. in India,* 1792-1942, P. 118. Calcutta Review - Human Sacrifices in Orissa, March, 1846 - the earliest reference to the Konds was made by John Garstin, Surveyor Genera, in his letter to George Bodwell, Sect. to Govt. Judicial Department. on 4th July, 1810.
274. B. M. Boal, The Konds, P.36. Raja of Ghoomsur's territory was situated across the plain from the foothills almost to the Bay of Bengal in

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the east and from north to south. It came under the jurisdiction of Madras Presidency.

275. *Ibid.*
276. P. Mukherjee, *A history of Orissa in the 19th Century*, PP. 198-208. The Agency for the hill tracts of Orissa was abolished in 1862.
277. B. M. Boal, *The church in the Kond Hills*, P.57.
278. S. P. Carey, *Dawn on the Kond Hills*, P. 26.
279. *Ibid.*, P.27.
280 B. M. Boal, *The Church in the Kond Hills*, P. 57. A mission station of the G.B.M.S. had been already opened at Russellkonda, 12 miles away from the foot of the hills.
281. *Ibid*, P. 58. (Russellkonda was named after the Commissioner Russel who played a part in the Ghoomsur Wars (1935-37)).
282. P. K. Patra, *Orissare Baptist Missionary Societyra Karya*, P. 128.
283. S. P. Carey, *Dawn on the Kond Hills*, P. 29.
284. D. Swaro, *The Christian Missionaries in Orissa*, P. 137.
285. B. M. Boal, *The Konds*, P. 78. The Church in the Kond Hills, P.58.
286. S. P. Carey, *Dawn on the Kond Hills*, P.40.
287. B. M. Boal, *The Church in the Kond Hills*, PP. 58-59. (55 years later the first church was established there.)
288. *Ibid*, P.58.
289. *Ibid*.
290. D. S. Wells, *One hundred and fiftieth anniversary of the B.M.S. in India*, 1792-1942, P. 118.
291. B. M. Boal, *The Konds*, PP. 78-79.
292. *Ibid.*, P. 80. Monogamists believed mankind originated from the couple Adam and Eve some 6,000 years ago. Polygamists believed in separate origins for different races.
293. P. K. Patra, *Orissare Baptist Missionary Societyra Karya,...* P. 129.
294. D. S. Wells, *One hundred and fiftieth anniversary of the B.M.S. in India*, (1792-1942), P.118.
295. S. P. Carey, *Dawn on the Kond Hills*, P. 42.
296. *Ibid*. P. E. *Heberlet gave this report on the basis of Niladri's narration of his experience in the Kond hills.*
297. S. P. Carey, *Dawn on the Kond Hills*, P. 42. The name of the submagistrate was Sarajiv Naidu, a Telugu speaking Hindu. Udaigiri - a days journey away from Russellkonda.
298. B. M. Boal, *The Church in the Kond Hills*, P. 59. A Wilkinson and A. Long were from Clift College Derbyshire, England.
299. S. P. Carey, *Dawn on the Kond Hills*, P. 43.
300. B. M. Boal, *The Church in the Kond Hills*, P. 59. Howard James, minister of the Woodborough Road, Nottingham became one of the Secretaries of the undenominational committee, - S. P. Carey, Dawn on the Kond Hills, P.43.
301. D. S. Wells, *One hundred and fiftieth anniversary of the B.M.S. in India*, (1792-1942), P. 119. (Their base was Russellkonda)
302. *Ibid*.

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303. S. P. Carey, *Dawn on the Kond Hills*, P.47.
304. D. S. Wells, *One hundred and fiftieth anniversary of the B.M.S. in India* (1792-1942), P.59.
305. B. M. Boal, *The Konds*, P. 84. At times Wilkinson's strong individualism came into conflict with his colleagues.
306. B. M. Boal, *The Church in the Kond Hills*, PP. 59-60.
307. S. P. Carey, *Dawn on the Kond Hills*, P. 49. Mrs. Nones was a lady from Lahore who nursed Long's sick children when she was in Orissa.
308. *Ibid.*
309. *Ibid.*, P.50.
310. S. P. Carey, *Dawn on the Kond Hills*, P. 50.
311. *Ibid.*, PP. 50-51.
312. B. M. Boal, *The Konds*, P.84.
313. D. S. Wells, *One hundred and fiftieth Anniversary of the B. M. S. in India* (1792-1942), P.119.
314. B. M. Boal, *The Konds*, P.84.
315. P. K. Patra, *Orissare Baptist Missionary Societyra Karya*, P. 133. John Aba - Father John - One hundred and fiftieth Anniversary of the B.M.S. in India, P.120.
316. B. M. Boal, *The Kinds*, P.181.
317. S. P. Carey, *Dawn on the Kond Hills*, P. 58. A. E. Grimes , P. Horsburgh, O. J. Millman and E. M. Evans.
318. D. S. Wells, *One hundred and fiftieth anniversary of the B.M.S. in India*, PP. 119-20. J. Biswas worked amongst the Konds until his death in 1925.
319. *Ibid.*, P.120.
320. S. P. Carey, *Dawn on the Kond Hills*, P.28.
321. B. M. Boal, *The Church in the Kond Hills*, PP.60-61.
322. *Ibid.*, P.61. Millman gave the Kui spoken language a script.
323. D. S. Wells, *One hundred and fiftieth anniversary of the B. M. S. in India*, 1792-1942, P.120.
324. B. M. Boal, *The Church in the Kond Hills*, P.61. The Konds, PP.182-83. Bisi was a Pan.
325. *Ibid.* The Mallikapori Church consisted of Mallikapori group of villages.
326. B. M. Boal, *The Church in the Kond Hills*, P.61.
327. *Ibid*, P.62.
328. P. K. Patra, *Orissare Baptist Missionary Societyra Karya*, PP. 137-39. Winfield had written a Kui-English dictionary and Kui grammar Book.
329. S. P. Carey, *Dawn on the Kond Hills*, P. 96. (He was the only son of Rev. Frank Wells of Trinity Huntingdon and of Blenheim.)
330. P. K. Patra, *Orissare Baptist Missionary Societyra Karya*, P. 140. Dovothy Millward from the Church of Redeemer married D. Scott Well. S. P. Carey, Dawn on the Kond Hills, P.97.
331. S. P. Carey, *Dawn on the Kond Hills*, P.102.
332. *Ibid*, PP. 100-02.
333. *Ibid.*, P.105.

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334. *Ibid*, P.99. In 1935 they had a permanent Church building. S. P. Carey, P.99
335. D. S. Wells, *One hundred and fiftieth anniversary of the B.M.S. in India*, 1792-1942, P.120.
336 B. M. Boal, *The Konds*, P 84. Learners are the inquirers.
337. S. P Carey, *Dawn on the Kond Hills*, P.105.
338. B. M. Boal, *The Church in the Kond Hills*, P.62.
339 B. M. Boal, *The Church in the Kond Hills*, P.62.
340. *Ibid.*, P 63.
341. B. M. Boal, *The Church in the Kond Hills*, P.63. S. P. Carey, Dawn on the Kond Hills, P.112.
342. B. M. Boal, *The Church in the Kond Hills*, P.63.
343. *Ibid*, P 69.
344. *Ibid.*, P.108.
345. *Ibid.*, P.96.
346. B. M. Boal, *The Church in the Kond Hills*, PP. 112-14.
347. *Orissa State Gazetteers, Orissa State Vol. II* edited by N. C. Behuria, P. 29
348. B. M. Boal, *The Konds*, P 188.
349. S. P. Carey, *Dawn on the Kond Hills*, P.110.
350. *Ibid.*
351. B. M. Boal, *The Konds*, P.188. The Konds did not have a caste-ridden society
352. L. N. Sahu, *The Hill Tribes of Jeypore*, P. 63.
353. S. P. Carey, *Dawn on the Kond Hill*, P. 99.
354. B. M. Boal, *The Konds*, P. 188.
355. *Ibid.*
356. B. M. Boal, *The Church in the Kond Hills*, P.113.
357 B. M. Boal, *The Church in the Kond Hills*, P. 112. (Drinking in parties was an essential part of Kui Community life - group behaviour)
358. *Ibid*, P.64 In some parts of Orissa, The Orissa Baptist Mission and U.C.M.S. worked in close co-operation.
359. D. M. Albaugh, *The Light in India's Hand.*, P.114.
360. *L. S. S. O.'Malley, Bengal, Bihar, Orissa and Sikkim*, P. 192.
361. *Ibid.*
362. D. M. Albaugh, *The Light in India's Hand.*, P. 114.
363. C. C. O., Vol. XV, No.176 *opcit*, PP. 340-42.
364. *Ibid.*, P. 342.
365. *L.S.S.O' Malley, Bengal, Bihar, Orissa and Sikkim*, P.194.
* The graves outside the village was considered sacred. Here sacrifices of food and animals (mainly goats and chickens) were made to satisfy the spirits, D. M. Albaugh, P.114.
366. *The Christian Spectator* Vol. III, No. 27 *opcit*, P.82.
367. D. M. Albaugh, *The Light in India's Hand*, P. 144. (The Christians were the first to give them a script adopting Roman script and other diacritical marks. The work was done by Phillips.)
368. J. Peggs, *A History of the General Baptist Mission*, P. 340.

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369. D. M. Albaugh, *The Light in India's Hand, Opcit*, PP. 148-49.
370. C. C. O. Vol. No. 8 (N.S.) August, 1840 *opcit* P. 472.
371. D. Swaro, *Christian Missionaries in Orissa*, P. 150. C. S. Vol. III No. 27 *opcit*, PP. 85-86.
372. *L. S. S. O' Malley, India's Social Heritage, opcit*, PP.76-77.
373. *L. S. S. O.' Malley, Bengal, Bihar, Orissa and Sikkim*, P. 194.
374. C. C. O., Vol. XV, No. 176 (N.S.) August, 1854, P. 343.
375. C. C. O., Vol. XV, No. 176 (N.S.) August, 1954, P. 343. C. C. O., Vol. XVI, No. 164, August, 1853, P. 358 The Oriental Baptist - Vol. VI, June, 1852, Opcit, P.179.
376. C. C. O., Vol. XVI, No. 188 (N.S.) August, 1855, Opcit, PP. 392-93. C. S., Vol. III, No. 27, PP. 85-87.
377. D. S. Wells, *One hundred and fiftieth Anniversary of the Baptist Missionary Society in India* (1792-1942), P.147.
378. *Ibid.*, P. 148.
379. P. K. Patra, *Orissare Baptist Missionary Societyra Karya*,...PP. 193-94.
380. *Ibid.*, PP. 194-95.
381. D. S. Wells, *One hundred and fiftieth Anniversary of the B.M.S. in India* (1792-1942), P.148.
382. *Ibid.*
383. *Ibid*, P.148.
384. *Ibid.*, PP.196-97.
385. *Ibid.*, P.148.
386. *Ibid*, PP. 148-49.
387. *Ibid.*, P. 149.
388. P. K. Patra, *Orissare Baptist Missionary Societyra Karya*, P. 200.
389. D. S. Wells, *One hundred and fiftieth Anniversary of the B.M.S. in India* (1792-1942), P. 149.
390. *Ibid.*, PP. 149-50.

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IV

CONVERSIONS

Conversion of the Oriyas (Hindus and Muslims) and tribals was the sole purpose of the missionaries of various denominations in Orissa. This kind of success was not available easily to the missionaries at their early stages of evangelization.

Parallel missions elsewhere in India and abroad also had similar problems. Rev. Sutton had stated :-

"Several of our most interesting and prosperous missions have had to endure long patience, ere they were cheered by the addition of a single convert. It was so with the Baptist Mission to Bengal, with the Missions to Burmah and Ceylon; it was so, in a remarkable degree, with respect to the Missions to Greenland and the South Seas"[1] and it was so with respect to the Orissa Mission.[2]

The Baptist missionaries were able to gain convert from other Christian denominations to the Baptist denomination. Their English service on Lord's Day (in the forenoon and in the evening) had influenced the Europeans, Eurasians,* Armenians and Portugese who were in some plea stationed in Orissa.

The first such baptism took place on 27th April, 1822. Mr. F. Rennell son of a Catholic Engineer, became a protestant to marry a protestant girl.[3] He was the "first fruit"[4] of the "Prayers and labours in Orissa."[5] In 1825, a Roman Catholic Portugese Mr. D' Santos was baptized at Cuttack in the Mahanadi river before witnesses.[6] Others who followed him were De Sozo, Baptist, George etc.[7] On 24th of December, 1826 three more were baptized in the Mahanadi at Cuttack. One was a Jew and wife of the native preacher Abraham, the others were the mother of Sunder, a native of Arracan (she was a Roman Catholic) and the brother of Sunder.[8] Four individuals of the Ordinance Department were residing at Cuttack. Three of them were influenced by the preachings of the missionaries. Mr. & Mrs. Beddy were amongst those who were baptized.[9] American Baptists at Balasore also Baptized few Europeans.

* (Eurasians are Indo-British stock)

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Until six years of the establishment of the Orissa Mission by the G.B.M.S. there was not a single convert from the natives. There were only inquirers. Sutton has narrated these years of waiting. "How fearfully long they seemed, none but ourselves and those who have been similarly circumstanced can possibly tell. xxxxx There was no relief to the picture; no ray of light shining athwart the gloom profound; no hope or indication of better days was known or wished. It was the region of darkness and the shadow of death, without any morning, and where the light was as darkness."[10] Rev. Bampton the earliest of the missionaries of the G.B.M.S. shifted to Puri in September, 1823. He preached there sincerely, but people were very wicked than elsewhere. He tried to influence the Bengalis from Calcutta. In one of his visits to Berhampur in 1827, he met with success. On 25th of December, 1827, Erun (or Irun Senapati) a Telugu weaver of Berhampur was baptized by Bampton.[11] Sutton had stated - "Mr. Bampton laboured with extra-ordinary perseverance and self denial, till at the end of his sixth year he was honoured to admit by baptism the first Hindoo in the Church of Christ in Orissa."[12] Erun was taught by his father never to salute an idol. This same person had also encouraged him to wear the emblem of Siva in a silver case tied round his neck. When he heard about Jesus Christ from Bampton he broke this into pieces. After a period of instruction and endurance against persecution he was baptized. At the time of baptism he had two wives, the senior wife left him and the younger stayed with him until his death. She persecuted him sorely and taught his son to hate his father and the Christians.[13] The missionaries scored another victory when Gangadhar Sarangi, a brahmin of Tangi village in Cuttack was baptized by Rev. C. Lacey on 23rd March, 1828.[14] Gangadhar was probably the first Hindu convert to Christianity. Eurn was the first to break the chain of caste in Orissa.[15] Gangadhar had received religious instructions in the cottage of a Hindu religious instructor Sundar Das (Baba). He had read tracts which he accidentally got from the pilgrims on their return journey from Puri. Having heard from a missionary that Jagannath is 'just wood' he wished to test for himself. When he visited Puri he approached the idol with a prayer for light and peace. There was no answer. He struck the idol with an iron tool which he had secretly carried. This brought him no answer from Jagannath. His fear disappeared and he reproached the idol for his lack of power. Disheartened he returned from Puri and decided to be a convert. He had to leave his caste, friends and for a time his wife.[16]

Gangadhar, even then had some hesitation. Mr. Lacey's journal relates the removal of his last objections and his baptism. The narra-

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tion dated 14th March, 1828 mentions that Lacey visited the village where Ganga's Guru resided there at times. The Guru had influenced him and he objected in words "There are some among you who are not holy in their conduct." If your religion were true then the Government would support. but they do not." Gangadhar was keen to embrace Christianity but his Guru restrained him, partly by plausible objections against the Gospel, and partly by threatening the worst consequences, should he be baptized. Lacey had a private interview with Gangadhar and discovered his determination to become a convert.[17] The Guru shared cheese with the missionaries but disuaded his disciples to do so. Lacey writes - "We soon perceived that our principal business was, to get Gangadhar away from among these, his former connexions. Had they been idolaters, or immoral this would be easily effected. But they are normal and profess no regard for images. We showed him the snap into which he had fallen, and he promised to visit us."[18] On 16th March, 1828 Gangadhar arrived and begged the missionaries to allow him to reside at Cuttack to avoid persecution by his relations. His decision was acceptable by the missionaries. On 21st March, 1828 he preached about Christ very boldly. Brahmins heard him and reprimanded him with words and blows, One said - "What, have you become a Pheringee?" Another said, "his blasphemy of Jugganath might be borne; but to unite Brahmins with himself is insufferable." But he showed signs of determination, sent words to his wife and was baptized.[19] Lacey's journal records - "Lords day March, 23 we baptized the first Oriya to General Baptist Christian, a Brahmin, and a preacher. After suitable preparatory devotional exercises, and all things being in readiness, Gangadhar , taking hold of his poita, the badge of his Brahminhood, and the sign of the highest honour a Hindoo can possess, threw it into brother Cropper's hands, and was immediately baptized."[20]

After the baptism of Gangadhar , a widow offered herself as a candidate. In July, 1828 Rev. Lacey baptized two Roman Catholics. Thereafter the missionary at Cuttack baptized the first Oriya female.[21] Rev. Lacey wrote about her - "She was for many years a wretched Magdalene, but now is, by the grace of God, a humble devoted disciple of Jesus Christ."[22]

A Sadhu named Sundara Das played a crucial role in contributing towards conversion. His disciples were amongst the earliest converts to Christianity. It has been mentioned that the "way in which the gospel first took root in the province, is without a parallel in India; and furnishes a striking illustration of the wonderful manner in which God sometimes fulfils his purposes of mercy to men."[23]

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This Guru flourished in a secluded area of Kujibar village, near Chowdwar in Cuttack district,[24] and accepted disciples irrespective of caste, creed and sex.

He rose to prominence by preaching monotheism long before Raja Ram Mohan Rai had done it. His doctrines were akin to Christian ideas and conflict arose between the followers of the Sadhu and the Christians. Ultimately the Sadhu held his ground and his preachings minimised christian influence in the coastal districts to a great extent.[25] He was a Hindu scholar well versed in scriptures like Veda, Vedanta, Upanishads etc. "He was a kind of Hindu reformer, thoroughly dissatisfied with idolatry, and seeking for something better xxxxxxx . He was a man of great intelligence; and used to expatiate with the most cutting satire on the evils of Hinduism, holding it up in the most striking way to deserved contempt, and divesting the minds of his followers of all respect for the idols of their ancestors."[26] His sermons, preaching and exposition of Hindu scriptures surprised many Christian missionaries, learned pandits of Orissa and Central provinces of that period. They were recorded by the European missionaries very fragmentarily in their reports, journals and books printed and published in London since 1826.[27] He treated his disciples like his children and instructed them in various moral duties.[28] Some Hindus formed a separate sect under his guidance and left the ancient form of idolatry.[29]

About the year 1825, two or three christian tracts circulated by the English Baptist missionaries of Orissa reached them per chance and received their approval.[30]

In January 1826, one day at a market in Tanghi, one of the Guru's disciples received an Oriya catechism from a missionary. He gave it to the Guru and it was read in their congregation.[31] He appreciated the Ten commandments and took it as his standard.[32] Some of his men made inquiries at Cuttack and Puri and received more tracts, Gospel and a Testament.

After going through Christian literature his conclusion was clear. He decided to become a moral teacher, to teach the folly of idolatry, the unity of God and identified himself with Christ and wished all should worship him.[33] His disciples were influenced by him, they learned whole passages of the books by heart, kept the Sabbath and began to teach their countrymen. They were divided into parties and were sent by the Guru to propagate the words of the Ten Commandments. Four of them later on became converts and active participants in the cause of Christianity.[34]

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They were persecuted by their neighbours and sought the advice of Mr. Lacey. Mr. Lacey and Mr. Sutton were in constant intercourse with them. They admired the Guru's illustration of the evil distinction of caste in Orissa, his knowledge of the Gospel.

The missionaries visited the Sadhu's Kujibar Math in October, 1826. Mr. Sutton writes in his journal dated 10th October, 1826 - "The last three days have been the most interesting I have passed in India."[35] But the Guru never went further than emulating the Ten Commandments, but some of his disciples visited Lacey as inquirers.[36]

He never thought of embracing Christianity. Rather he considered himself an incarnation of Jesus Christ and to complete the resemblance created twelve apostles. His appreciation of the Ten Commandments was not genuine. When his disciples decided to show more inclination towards Christianity he tortured them and decided to stop this influence. He therefore directed his followers to divert their attention from Jesus to himself. But his children turned much wiser than the teacher and "humbly embraced the doctrine of the Saviour, while his proud spirit refused to submit to its self-renouncing claims."[37] He died without any distinct creed of his own. He had perverted ideas about Christianity. He admired Christianity, but never wanted to be a Christian. Yet he attempted to save Hinduism from losing its ground from its soul.

He was rejected by the missionaries in the later phase because he accepted the gospel not for the sake of Christianity but for the furtherance of his own influence. His "attempt to assimilate the essence of Christ's oracle with that of the Hindu religion,"[38] was not acceptable to the missionaries. It went against their interest of winning people towards Christianity.

He had indirectly contributed when his followers like Gangadhar Sarangi, Rama Chandra Ji Jachak, Bamadeb Sahu, Hari Padhi, Parsu Rout, Doitaree Naik, Radhu Das[39] became converts to Christianity and ardent propagators of this religion.

The Guru enlightened himself and his friends and circulated a weekly manuscript in palmleaf named Kujibar Patra.[40] Written on paper and palmleaves it covered articles on Hindus and Christian religions, education, hygiene, agriculture, commerce, music etc.[41] The Sadhu wrote a letter in 1827, to the missionary in Orissa appealing in favour of Christianity. In his words - "I am a Hindu Boistub, poor and destitute, but ask of you neither land, nor elephants, nor horses, nor money, not palanqueens, not doolies : but I ask, what can be done to learn the people to obey the laws of God? O holy people, this I ask!"[42] Conversion though slow was steady. Ram Chandra, the son of the

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former Killadar* of the Cuttack fort was the second convert. He was baptized by Rev. Lacey in the river Mahanadi on 1st November, 1829.[43] The third convert was Krupasindhu.[44] Others who followed him were Hari Padhi, Radhu Das, Daitari Nayak, Jagu Roul, Damodar Mohanty, Balaram Ji Jachak, Siba Patra, Sadasiba Sahu, Kanhai Das, Dinabandhu Mohanty, Sanatan Das, Bhobani Mohanty, Purusottam Choudhury, Ram Das, Bhikari Nayak etc.[45] When Mr. Brown visited Berhampur in 1837, he baptized an Oriya brahmin named Balaji.[46] The American Baptists also converted many Europeans and Eurasians.

In 1839, they baptized two natives.[47] One was Chakradhar, Khandait[48] by caste and a man from Bhudruck. They also baptized the daughter of Doitaree (the native preacher).[49] The statistics of the Church of Cuttack in 1840, stated that between the years 1828-40, some fifty three Europeans and East Indians and ninety- five Hindus were baptized.[50] Within twentyone years of the existence of the mission in Orissa there were 583 Christians in Cuttack and its surrounding Christian villages. At Berhampur there were 162 Christians including 89 children of the orphan. schools associated with the Church. At Balasore there were 65 of them out of which 29 were school children. At Jellasore the Christians were 40, of whom 25 were children. Marked progress was therefore achieved when from one convert the membership in full church Communion reached 268.[51] Therefore, this mission was considered to be the most prosperous in the whole of India.[52] Another encouraging statistics was that by 1845, there were 1,000 Christians in Orissa.[53] In 1871, there were 2169 Christians of whom 1629 were converts and 540 were communicants.[54] In 1971, there were 378,888 Christians i.e 1.73 per cent of the population.[55] Conversion took place in Westerr Orissa towards the end of the 19th Century.

To the number of baptized Christians are added a sizable number of nominal Christians who were the family members of the converts. "These form an interesting and professedly Christian community who received Christian instruction and attendant Christian Worship."[56] Athgarh was the only tributary State which had the maximum number of early converts to Christianity. There were also Christian converts in Mayurbhanj and Nilgiri States.[57] In the early and later stages of conversion the number of converts were more in Cuttack district followed by Puri and Balasore.

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* Killadar - In charge of the protection of the Fort under the Marhattas. C.C.O. - N.S. Vol.I, No.120, O.S. Vol. XVIII, No. 211, December, 1849, P.542.

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According to the census of India, 1931 there were some 5,000 Christians in the three coastal districts of Orissa.[58] In 1901, the number of Christians per 10,000 of population was 12, in 1911 and 1921 it remained the same and in 1931, it had a slight increase to 14.[59] Until 1911, Cuttack had the maximum number of Christians followed by Balasore and Puri. The statistics of 1921 and 1931 showed slight changes. Cuttack still had the maximum number of Christians followed by Puri and Balasore.[60] See table given below:-

Christians: Number and Variation.

Actual number of Christians in

	1931	1921	1911	1901	
Orissa	5,784	4,974	5,145	5,004	
Cuttack	2,873	2,496	2,406	2,652	
Balasore	1,375	1,192	1,458	1,274	
Puri	1,536	1,286	1,281	1,078	61

American Baptists were not very successful in converting the natives of Bengal Orissa. D. M. Albaugh mentions - "The greatest number of baptisms and the largest number of Church members are recorded in Assam and in South India where the response has been more ready than in the Bengal - Orissa mission. In 1961 after 123 years, the total church membership in Bengal - Orissa was only 4,569."[62] In the year 1921, Joseph C. Robbins, the then foreign Secretary of the Society had observed that "India is the most difficult field in the world and Bengal is the most difficult in India."[63] In 1886 the Mission had nine separate Christian communities occupying fourteen villages.[64]

CONVERSION

Conversion was the main theme of the evangelization programme of the missionaries of Orissa. Keeping this view in mind the missionaries chose a specific course of action in making the words of Christ familiar to the people of Orissa.

Method and means adopted by the missionaries

Preaching, teaching and distributing tracts and gospels were the three main lines of missionaries approach towards evangelization of Orissa. They wished to undermine the confidence of the people in their traditional institutions and implant Christian values. Christianity should not be a new religion for them, but a new lease of life for the people of Orissa.

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"The first step in the direct assault on the mind for exposing it to Christian ideas was oral preaching of the gospel, which was some times accompanied by reading of the Scripture and distribution of tracts. Its importance was universally recognized by missionary organisations."[65] Rev. Gordon Hall wrote "Preaching, laborious preaching of the gospel must be considered as the great means of God had ordained for the conversion of the World."[66]

Rev. A. Sutton had admitted that the "missionaries in Orissa have ever been characterized as itinerant preachers of the gospel."[67]

Preaching of the gospel had different facets. It was done in public, in private and more so in vernacular language. As stated in one of the articles of Calcutta Christian Observer - "The preaching of the gospel in the vernacular language, has been the great means employed by the missionaries in Orissa, for the conversion of its people. They have not neglected the preparation of a Christian literature, the translation of the Bible, the printing of tracts, or the education of their Christian Children, but public preaching in all parts of the country has always been considered by them a first and chief duty."[68] Emphasis was laid more on public preaching as is evident from Rev. Bampton's journal "We sometimes push them a little on the absurdity of their idolatry, in private conversation at our own houses; but in public I think it is best to preach the gospel and treat their deplorable errors with moderation.[69] Public preaching was considered unavoidable. "The character and circumstances of the people call for this. They are a people complete in themselves, shut in by the mountains and the sea; and scarcely open to many influences which have been breaking down the idolatry of Hinduism in many parts of Bengal."[70]

The chief places for preaching and conversing in public with the people of Orissa were bazaars, public resorts, vicinity of temples and gatherings during the times of religious festivals and fairs. Native schools and chapels were conveniently used for this kind of preaching at a later stage of the Orissa Mission.

Bazaars - Preaching in the streets and bazaars was the "only effectual way in which they could at first make known the Gospel in Orissa, and it still continues to be the only way except in their own particular stations."[71] Bazaars served as important places of preaching. People from a group of neighbouring villages used to come to these markets once or twice a week. The missionaries found it easy to mingle and address the village crowd and create an impact on them. They were "generally held under a grove of trees, and people from a number of villages attended them."[72] Rev. Sutton has also described in words - "Here, beneath some shady tree, or wall, the missionary may stand

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and preach for hours to a large congregation. Its only drawback is the noise of the market."[73] "Preaching at such places saved labour and gave exposure to the missionary."[74]

The British and the American Baptists began their work in Orissa by preaching in these market places. This had proved to be successful in the long run. The American Missionary Noyes wrote about his bazaar preaching at Balasore and its impact on the natives. "With few exceptions Parsuram and myself have visited the bazar daily, for the purpose of preaching and distributing books. The people usually hear with good attention. It is indeed seldom the case, that we are prevented from proceeding with our discourses with all that composure we enjoy in the chapel. Within two years a change has taken place in the manners of the people. The reason I support is, that we have so long been unmoved by their noise, that they despaired of putting us down in this way."[75] In the Report sent from Balasore by Rev. Phillips to the Conference at Cuttack it is known that he visited during the hot and rainy seasons "almost daily one of the bazaars, or semi village or market in the neighbourhood, for the purpose of teaching the way of eternal life to my heathen brethren and distributing among them tracts and portions of the sacred scriptures."[76]

In 1841, Rev. Phillips has stated to have preached in the bazaars of Jellasore and the country markets (of which there were not less than twelve within the reach of home, most of them were held twice a week).[77]

Rev. C. Lacey's journal gives a picture of the Baptist Missionaries inter-course with the natives in the bazaars and other public places of resort.[78]

October 10 (1825)- "The weather has been fine today and I repaired to my old standing in Telengabazar, and soon obtained a hundred hearers. I commenced with some men who were angling, and a by-stander soon inquired whether it was sinful to kill fish?"

I attempted to show them what sin was, and a man cried that the debtas would save them from their sins however great they might be.

Missionary- "Brother, do you worship all the debtas?"

Hindoo - "Yes."

Missionary - "Brother if you stand with one foot on one boat, and the other foot on another boat, what will be the result?"

People - "Ah! he will be drowned in the middle."

Missionary - "You have many debtas, and how can you tell from which to expect salvation ? See, they are all divided, but you are leaning upon all, and so like a man in two boats you

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are sure to fall between. But if you worship Brahma, (the great God) whom I preach to you, like a man in one good boat who arrives at the opposite shore, so you will be sure to find salvation, but learn from the man and the two boats, not to worship more than one God. I preach to you one Saviour, and whosoever believe on him shall not perish but have everlasting life."[79]

November, 24 (1825). "In the evening I carried on the war in the Lall Bazar with Mussulmans and Hindoos. Spoke of Christ as the only Saviour, and the Mussulmans ran away with their ears stopped, crying out "hear not that, Mahommat and Alla! Mahommat and Alla! However, the Hindoos stood and heard the comparative merits of Christ and the debtas; and several of the Brahmuns departed without answering, which not a little strengthened our cause in the eyes of the soodras, many of whom are well able to appreciate the merits of this case. Several Europeans passed, one stood and heard about twenty minutes. To attempt to make Christians of Hindoos appear strange to them. However by the foolishness of preaching God will save them who believe; and we have no objections to being reckoned fools for Christ's sake and the gospels."[80]

Rev. Sutton during his visit to Balasore in 1827, had preached at a market at a place called Sagea Patna.[81] During one of these tours in Balasore, he also visited a market at place called Koragore, about eight miles west of Balasore.[82]

Rev. Lacey had preached to the natives of Cuttack daily (seven times a day throughout the year 1827, except when he was sick) or he generally confined his public preaching to three places in Cuttack-two standings at Choudhury Bazar and one in Telenga Bazar. These were centre places where country people came along with town people to hear the preaching. Preaching at such places had advantages. People from villages who visited the town also had a chance to hear about Jesus Christ. Preaching at a public place gave opportunity to the natives to enquire and to object against Christianity. The missionaries by defending their faith in public became more confident in facing the challenges. In these places the congregation were a comfortable group of 30 to 80. Some of them listened to Lacey with attention, but at times he had admitted of being abused by the crowd and pelted with dust or broken pots.[83]

On market days he preached at a place called Chowdry Choke (present Chowdry Bazar), a very central and public bazar in Cuttack.[84]

Religious Festivals - The big melas (religious fairs) in India offered a welcome opportunity to the missionaries in communicating with ease with larger groups of people.

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The British Baptists had first used this mode of mixing with the crowds of Jagannath Worshippers at Puri. American missionaries carried forward this tradition of attending the melas. Preaching in the Kumbh Mela at Allahabad and Hardwar in Uttar Pradesh was done by the American Presbyterians and Methodists who were active in northern India.[85] The Annual Report of 1852, of the Presbyterian Board of Foreign Missions mentioned the utility of the melas. "The melas, or fairs... afford an opportunity of addressing many persons from distant places to whom access could not be otherwise gained, and also for the distribution of the holy scriptures and religious tracts."[86] As in other parts of India, so in Orissa, there are a number of festivals celebrated in different parts of the province, on a variety of occasions; such as the anniversary of consecrating a temple - the recurrence of some remarkable astrological phenomena and so on. The missionaries found these favourable occasions for making known the gospel, and frequently improved them for this purpose.[87] The following are some accounts of such excursions undertaken by the missionaries.

1. On 11th of January, 1825 Rev. J. Peggs had attended a Jatra at Munchaswar with Rev. Lacey, Abraham and a Pundit. At a gathering they delivered their message.[88]

2. On 19th of January, 1825 the above group attended a bathing festival at Tuntur.[89]

3. On 16th of February, 1825 Rev. Peggs, Rev. Lacey and Abraham visited the large Jatra or Mela at Puramunx. There the "concourse was great, but the disposition to hear discouraging. xxxxx But so inconsistent are some nominal Christians at Cuttack, as even to take a journey of ten miles to be present at midnight when some peculiar ceremony takes place of carrying a light upon the top of the temple. Oh ! for genuine Christianity."[90]

4. On 15th of March, 1825 - In the evening at six O' clock (it was a Saturday evening) Rev. Bampton, Brothers Lacey and Sutton, Abraham* and Sunder the schoolmaster visited a

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* Abraham was the native Christian who assisted the missionaries in Orissa. He was born at Seringputam of Hindu parents. From the age of 11 to 21 he lived with several Englishmen. The first of these, Captain Cook gave him the English name Abraham. On 15th September, 1821 he was baptized by Rev. Marshman at Serampore. He came as a cook with the British Baptist Missionaries to Orissa and was of great help. Abraham was engaged as an assistant native preacher at Cuttack. J. C. E., PP. 76-77, 79-80.

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> religious festival at Bhubaneswar. Next morning Brother Bampton took one road, Brothers Lacey another and Brother Sutton accompanied Abraham. Sutton had observed, "Here were people assembled of all sorts, sizes, figures and descriptions, an exceedingly great multitude, from decrepit old age to the infant in arms, many fantastically attired, and great numbers of women. xxx Abraham spoke very fluently, many heard the word, and received tracts and gospel."[91]

The Annual Car Festival of Lord Jagannath at Puri in the month of Ashadha (June or July) offered a unique opportunity of encountering pilgrims who came from all corners of India.

The missionaries of the Baptist denominations of Orissa and Bengal made it a point to attend the Car Festival to preach Christianity.[92] At the Car Festivals the missionaries and the native preachers divided among themselves and formed small groups. Each party preached in one direction.[93] The missionaries of the London Missionary Society and the Church Missionary Society of Bengal also attended the Car festivals for several years. Except the year 1857 i.e. the year of the Sepoy Mutiny the missionaries never failed to gather at Puri from 1822 to 1900.[94] In 1836, Rev. Sutton had attended the Car festivals with American brethren Noyes. In 1838, there were seven of them from the British Baptist group at Puri for the Car Festivals. They were C. Lacey, Rev. Stubbins and native preachers named Ganga Dhar, Ram Chandra, Purusottam, Bamadeb and Bhikari . In 1840, Messrs Lacey and Sutton from Cuttack, Stubbins and Wilkinson from Berhampur accompanied by native preachers attended the Car Festivals.[95]

At the Car Festival the missionaries followed a standard pattern of attracting people first and then attacking their religion.

In the beginning the missionaries or the native preachers attracted crowds by first singing in Oriya. As soon as the people gathered around them they used to preach resuming their attack on Hindu Shastras, Gods, Goddesses and Prophet Mohammed. They tried to convince the unholiness of the respective religions. Lastly they suggested remedies by appealing to the sinners, to gain salvation by embracing Christianity.[96] In reality on such an occasion, instead of only speaking against Hinduism they appeared as friends and benefactors of the poor and the destitute. They distributed food and medicine and held special prayers for the dying. Their object was to create confidence among the natives, by being with them in times of need.

Apart from the annual Car Festival at Puri there were also other festivals attended by the missionaries. This is reaffirmed by Rev. A. Sutton.

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"There is also a number of large festivals annually celebrated at Pooree, besides the Great Car Festivals. The Orissa Missionaries have found them, next to markets, the most important preaching opportunities which the province affords."[97]

This kind of preaching was approved at the Cuttack conference held in 1837, and has since then been sanctioned by the Committee.[98]

Native Schools and Chapels - In the early days of preaching native schools and chapels were considered suitable places for preaching.[99] Sutton had added - "While our system of schools continued, these were very favourable preaching places, especially for young missionaries, and as such may be still, to some extent recommended."[100] Mr. Lacey recollects that in 1827, he enjoyed preaching the gospel in schools in Cuttack. On these occasions he used to place the children in front of the school, or on the roadside. While giving religious lessons people used to gather to listen to these teachings. It served the dual purpose of preaching in public as well as to students and teachers of a school. The crowd were more disciplined than in Bazars.[101]

Another unique way of preaching was itinerating. It is also called cold season work. The extensive and frequent itinerancy were helpful in spreading the gospel. Many converts gained precious knowledge of Christ when they met the missionaries and heard from them during their journeys.[102]

During the unfavourable months of the year, the missionaries were in the habit of preaching constantly in the bazaars in their respective stations. In between if there were melas in different parts of the province they joined the Hindus assembled there to preach. In the cold season, two or three months was spent in visiting the country in various directions.[103] Dr. Claudius Buchanan had set the example by travelling extensively in southern India in the early part of the nineteenth century. Rev. Sutton admitted of taking special journeys to different parts of the province in the cold season. He stated - "In this way the seed of the kingdom has been scattered broadcast nearly over the whole land."[104]

These tours sometimes extended "along the huge rivers; sometimes along the highroad in the heart of the cultivated districts, sometimes among the most retired villages of the plains, sometimes even in the western hills of the borders of Goomsur and Boud."[105] For example in January, 1848 the English missionaries in a group undertook a tour covering 600 miles through Puri and the eastern districts on the sea coast round to Cuttack. In November they travelled again, in two parties, in other parts of the country. The American missionaries at Balasore and Jellasore itinerated in the hills to the west of their stations.[106]

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In Bengal as in northern India these journeys were made by boat and was considered to be comfortable. In Orissa the rivers Mahanadi, Brahmani, Subarnarekha and the Chilka lake offered opportunities for boat journey.[107]

In the cold season of 1825, Rev. C. Lacey, Abraham and the native brother took a missionary journey down the Mahanadi river.[108] It is known from Lacey's journal that the above party reached Casenogur on 16th December, 1825. The next day i.e. on 17th December, 1825 they went to Gyegung and resumed their preaching. Rev. Bampton had also engaged himself for two or three months during the cold season in preaching and giving away books in the country. On 4th December, 1825 he visited Jeypore, Vishnatpore, Rangea and Burroanla Bolinks.[109]

Some of these journeys were planned on horseback. At times the missionaries' wife followed him in a palanquin or tonjohn. Some of them preferred to ride on horses. Unless a destination was chosen the missionaries covered about 8 or 10 miles at a stretch. Usually then begun their journey before breakfast. They rested for a day or two depending on the circumstances of the neighbourhood. In long journeys they travelled in the night and in the morning.[110] In these journeys they travelled in the night carrying few necessary things. They carried a tent and other things consisting of a cot, a few camp-tools or chairs, a small table cloth to change, cooking appliances, provision, few pieces of cutlery, a box of books and medicines. Some of them carried guns and ammunitions for protection. The baggage was transported in a native bullock cart or otherwise carried by coolies on their heads. The native preachers and servants had to cover the entire journey on foot. If there were opportunities for preaching enroute the missionaries preferred to walk the whole or part of the way. In such situation, the servants went ahead to supervise this kind of work.[111] "Then unless there be any inducement to go out again, the party rests till the heat abates, when they sally forth and continue their labours till dark."[112]

These labours according to Sutton were "very pleasant and useful. They bring the missionary in contact with classes of people he could never meet with elsewhere, or if he could, he would be unable to address them as he can in their own villages and rural abodes. Often does he feel, in prosecuting his journey from hamlet to hamlet, through paddy fields and jungles, that he is treading in the footsteps of the Son of God."[113]

Private conversation with the natives formed a media of communication with the mass. The missionaries often chose to convince the

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natives in private. They received inquirers who were keen to hear in private than suffer humiliation at the hands of their friends in public. J. Peggs wrote that the missionaries "intercourse is not confined to their preaching excursions, but they have frequent opportunities of communicating religious instructions to them in private."[114] The missionaries themselves had stated - "Many natives have called upon us, from one motive and another, to whom we have talked, given tracts & C, as circumstances determined; perhaps we have had a thousand interviews of this nature since our arrival. Inquirers from a distance of twelve, twenty or twenty-four miles come to see the new padries, and hear about his new religions."[115] This kind of missionary work continued at the early stage of labour and for many years they preached the gospel regularly in the evening.[116]

Whether it was preaching in public or private the "preaching of the gospel in the vernacular language, has been the great means employed by the missionaries in Orissa, for the conversion of its people."[117] It was easier on the part of the missionaries to overcome the initial hostility by communicating with natives in their spoken language. It became imperative for them to learn Oriya.

Mr. Bampton's journal had accounted their reactions to their first address in a letter to a friend - "We have the means of furnishing ourselves pretty largely with words, and as in conveying our ideas we can choose for ourselves, it is commonly less difficult to make the natives understand us, than to know what they say in reply."[118] The existing idolatry and heathenism required that clarifications should be done in the vernacular tongue. English education had not entered Orissa at the early stage of missionary enterprise. "It has hence been a practice, from the first, with the Orissa missionaries on arriving in the country, to apply to the native language, and as far as possible, to acquire it thoroughly; and those who have possessed a natural aptitude for it, have given themselves also to the close study of the native shastras."[119]

The first missionaries to Orissa first learnt Bengali at Serampore to follow the Oriya language. With the assistance of an Oriya Pundit they had learnt Oriya there with which they could just manage. Excepting Oriya, other languages were predominantly in use in different part of Orissa. Therefore, the missionaries stationed at Berhampur in addition to Oriya had to learn Telugu, those at Midnapur had to learn Bengali, those at central and southern station the language of the Kondhs, those at Puri the Hindusthani and those at Balasore and Jellasore the Santal language. The missionaries also studied local history, mythology and used to make their address appealing.[120]

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The missionaries from abroad had taken interest in baptizing Europeans and East Indians working in India. The Church record showed a good list of these individuals who were baptized and joined the Church at Cuttack.[121] Preaching in English was done for the benefit of "Kinsmen according to the flesh."[122] There was also regular sabbath and week day services for the native Christian Community. This helped them in communicating with the people. "On these occasions both the native preachers and English or American missionaries officiate, and the services are conducted in the same order as is usual in English."[123] Even then preaching in English was not very popular with the Orissa missionaries. Rev. Sutton had stated - "It should however, be kept constantly in mind, that to preach the gospel to the heathen are we sent, and while we should never allow English services, there should be constant efforts made to raise the character and deepen the interest of native services. And in cases where there is a mixture of language, special care should be taken not to throw the native portion of the service into the background."[124]

The first General Baptist Missionary Rev. Bampton used to commonly go out a little after 5 O' clock (the sun was too hot for them) and used to return at 7 O' clock or a little later. During this period he spoke to one or two groups of natives. He used to collect the natives by getting some one to read a part of a tract. When he was surrounded by twenty to forty persons, he used to address them and then move to another spot and collect a congregation the same way.[125] The missionaries' teaching was based on subjects which they hardly changed. They insisted upon the fact "There is one God, one true Incarnation, and Atonement, all are sinners; pooja, bathing, pilgrimages are of no benefit. Faith in Christ's death for sin is the only means of pardon, peace and future happiness."[126] The early Orissa missionaries had acquired knowledge about the Hindu shastras so that they could debate with the people on the follies of idolatry. For instance Rev. C. Lacey and Rev. Stubbins were quite proficient in the knowledge of shastras and gave illustrations of "the folly and the wickedness of the Hindu Gods, particularly Krishna and Mahadev."[127] They were quite familiar with the objections raised by the natives against Christianity. The missionaries followed the practice of glorifying the grace of the gospel and Jesus Christ after exposing the drawbacks of idolatry.[128] Native preachers were also equally well versed in Hindu shastras and were able to meet the challenge of the Brahmins and were able to exhibit the inconsistencies of Hinduism. Siba Patra, a native preacher used the following words to disprove the myth of transmigration which the Hindus believed. "As a leaf of a tree, when it falls to the ground,

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is not united to any other tree, or reunited to the one it has left, so the spirit departing does not take another form, but there remain two places 'heaven and hell' where the soul received the reward of its good and bad deeds."[129]

While preaching, some of the missionaries within their limits followed their own methods, Rev. Bampton went about without wearing shoes and acted as if he was a Hindu to be accepted one amongst them. He was assisted by notes on all the principal topics of Christianity which was prepared by him and which he used to carry in his Oriya testament.[130] These notes according to Bampton enabled him to "turn to almost all the texts on the topics they contain, and are always ready for use."[131] Rev. C. Lacey the missionary at Cuttack selected a number of subjects related to Jesus and his miracles and other fables. He had prepared the harvest sermon, a sermon on paying rent to the Zamindars, a sermon on a mango tree and about the judgement day. Year in, year out he preached these sermons in different places. Lacey had also kept a bazar book in which he recorded some new modes of expressions as well as the people's objections.[132] The missionaries of the Baptist denominations criticized the Roman Catholics and their converts for their heathen attitude.[133] Some of the Catholic priests had allowed sandal-wood marks to be used by the Hindus.

At times attempts at conversion by deception was adopted by some frustrated missionary to wean them away from their own religion. This was not a regular policy and not approved by the Missionary Societies.

The British Baptists had also preached in jails and hospitals. On 24th of July, 1823, on receiving a request from a judge Rev. J. Peggs preached the same evening to 178 prisoners of a jail and 30 others in a hospital attached to it.[134] The preaching of the Orissa mission therefore "may justly claim the title of the great preaching mission of the Bengal Presidency."[135]

Distribution of tracts and gospels - Distribution of religious publications like tracts and gospels was "one of the principal means for enlightening many benighted mind and subducing many hearts to Christ.[136] It was also considered auxiliary to the work of preaching the gospel.[137] The earliest Baptist missionaries were provided by a considerable quantity of tracts and copies of sacred writings for distribution when they left Serampore and Calcutta.[138] These religious literatures were distributed by the missionaries after every preaching[139] at bazaars and festivals.[140]

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The distribution of tracts had been sincerely and extensively carried on from year to year by the missionaries. Especially in Cuttack and its surrounding villages every preaching was followed by distribution of tracts. On these occasions five to twenty had been distributed to such persons who had the ability to read them.[141] A good number of tracts were sent to Sambalpur for distribution.

This kind of work preceded missionary enterprise in its true form. Rev. Sutton had stated, "we had many pleasing opportunities of sending the Gospel into many places which perhaps will not be visited by a living missionary, till many years rolled away."[142] For instance Rev. C. Lacey had tried to visit Sambalpur in 1826. After journeying for seven days he was attacked with fever and he returned. He managed to find a leading company returning to Sambalpur and gave a good number of tracts to a Brahmin merchant requesting him to distribute them. After-wards he gave some more to a Christian to be distributed.[143] "Many in England and many in India, owe their first religious impressions to the perusal of these little messengers of mercy.[144]

These tracts were also widely distributed all over Orissa stretching from the hills of the west to the sea coast, from Jellasore to Midnapore in the north to Berhampur in the south and beyond it.[145] The Orissa missionaries were the largest distributors of these silent preachings.[146] In the beginning people thought it strange to have been given books.[147] Later on they turned enthusiastic inquirers about Christianity. Oriyas, as a people read much and were found to have read their own shastras as well as Christian Works.[148]

Some missionaries on their journey to Sambalpur rested in the town of Kontiloo. There they heard six men singing the poetical tract "the Jewel Mine of Salvation." In the market of Nimapara* a shop-keeper once called out to the missionary preaching there-

> "Where is your elderly sahib, who was last year ? He gave me a book, which I have read, and love very much. What excellent words are contained in that book"? Then he repeated some passages from the middle of the tract. There were numerous such instances of people receiving knowledge about Christianity through tracts.[149]

Many people lost them but some of them prized and preserved them. At a village about 14 miles away from Pipli in the Khurda district a certain person had obtained a copy of the tract 'Jewel Mine of Salvation' and had kept securely in his roof. One day his house caught fire and the thatched roof was burnt completely. He sent a messen-

* Nimapara is a place about 36 miles from Cuttack.

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ger to Pipli and explained his loss and received another copy of it.[150] Tracts were distributed religiously at the annual Car Festivals at Puri.[151] It was difficult to judge whether preaching done to the pilgrims of Puri had real or some effect at all. Who can tell "what fruit might be produced by the seed of the word chance shown in the mind of the passing pilgrim? or what good effects might result in particular instances among these weary wanderers from the word spoken in due season?"[152] In this famous place of Puri where people from all over India gathered, tracts had a fair chance of creating an impact on the pilgrims than preaching. "These tracts were therefore considered silent monitors put into the hands of the pilgrims, like the winged seeds of plants borne on the breeze, might carry the elements of beauty and fertility where no human hand had prepared the soil for their reception, and where it was watered by the silent dew of heaven."[153] Nearly ninety miles down the sea coast from Puri, Rev. Phillips the American Baptist Missionary discovered some natives quite knowledgeable in Christian gospels. They revealed that 12 or 13 years ago they had received tracts at the Car Festival at Puri.[154]

The local people of Puri did not interfere much in the missionaries' work of distribution of tracts. Some Bengali pilgrims who were educated tore off the tracts and abused the missionaries. This was done in a fit to show their love for their traditional institutions.[155]

Tracts were written either on palm leaves or in printed form.[156] One thousand copies of the tracts entitled 'Jewel Mine of Salvation' was written on palm leaves. This was useful, because the natives were not used to reading printing materials.[157]

The American Tract Society, The Religious Tract Society of London and the Bible Translation Society donated either money or papers for the publication of religious literature.[158]

The tracts distributed were two types. Some were translations from English and Bengali tracts. Others were written in vernacular language. The British Baptist Missionaries after settling in Orissa began translating tracts into Vernacular. Messrs Sutton, Lacey, Stubbins etc. worked to translate tracts and the Bible into Oriya. it became easier when a printing press was established by the Mission in 1838, in Cuttack. Prior to the establishment of this press decisions regarding the number of copies of different tracts were decided at the British Baptist Missionaries' annual meetings.[159]

The Orissa Missionaries (British and American Baptists) distributed the tracts in plenty. Those were the following:

(a) "Report of the Printing and Distribution of Religious Tracts for 1828." Supplementary Number of the Periodical Accounts of the Serampore Mission (Serampore 1829), P.206.

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15,000 copies of tracts were brought from Serampore for distribution. In 1828, the Serampore Missionaries printed 22,000 tracts in Oriya for the Orissa Missionaries.

(b) J. Peggs - A History of the General Baptist Mission, P.233. In the year 1835, 28,000 tracts were distributed.

(c) The Friend of India Vol. VII No. 339, July, 1, 1841, 'First Report of the Orissa Mission'. In the year 1835, 28,000 tracts were distributed. In 1840, one thousand and fifty New Testament in Oriya, 11,000 Gospels, 72,000 tracts had been printed. Before 1841, 50,000 copies of tracts and Gospels in Oriya were distributed.

(d) J. Peggs - P.339. The Indian Report of 1841, contained that about 12,000 tracts, 1000 single gospels, about 40 New Testaments and numerous other portions of the sacred word had been distributed in the Jellasore Mission station by the American Baptist Missionaries.

(e) The oriental Baptist Vol. IV, August, 1850 P.248. During 1850, 40,000 tracts had been printed.

(f) The Calcutta Review Vol. XXXII, June, No. LXIIV, 1859 (Serampore 1859) P. LXV Critical Notes - By 1858, one lakh scripture portions and ninety lakhs fifty-two thousand and seven hundred tracts were printed and circulated in Oriya. In 1849, 36,000 scripture portions and 72,000 tracts and books were published.

The American Baptists distributed tracts amongst the natives in their stations. Few of these tracts and scriptures were in Bengali and were given to them by the Baptist Brothers in Calcutta. The maximum number of tracts were supplied from Cuttack by the British Baptists in Orissa and were written in Oriya.[160]

Educating the native youth in the truths of Christianity and correcting their ideas in respect of science, philosophy and geography were considered important means towards conversion of Hindus. Educational institutions were established to train the young mind for the great work of preaching the gospel. "Conversion through education never received much priority. Since missionaries were few in number their priority was to preach than to superintend schools which was considered to be an act of unfaithfulness to the Lord of the harvest, who has in every age been pleased by the foolishness of preaching to save them that believe."[161]

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Another plan adopted for disseminating the ideas of Christ was the formation of country bungalows and circuit houses. They had constructed a small bungalow at Bhogerpoor, a village eight miles north of Cuttack. Rev. C. Lacey had stated that the missionaries would spend some time every year at this bungalow and besides this they would also pay occasional visits in a year to preach in and around neighbouring villages.[162]

This peculiar mode of itinerating was popular with the American Free Will Baptists. Their object was to visit the same villages and towns frequently over a limited area. They erected a few bungalows in a circle round some central point. At intervals they visited from one to another throughout the circuit, repeatedly visiting the same villages and people. This helped the missionaries in giving the native a fair amount of knowledge in Christianity.[163]

The preaching of the gospel by the missionaries in their missionaries tours and distribution of tracts and gospels had some impact on their scheme of evangelization. "For wherever the missionaries travel, they met with men well acquainted with the gospel, in many places little communities have been found, who are joined together in what is called Satsanga, the fellowship of the true, who despise the idols of Orissa; read christian tracts and books, talk over them, examine them and compare them with their own shastras."[164] Many people had also enthusiastic inquirers about Christianity. In 1839, there were not less than 40 inquirers near Cuttack who were in touch with the missionaries.[165]

Conversion was done publicly, in full view of anxious on lookers. Their disapproval was expressed in jeers and offensive remarks.[166] It was rather peaceful. It gave confidence to the candidate for conversion and convinced their opponents that they were sincere.

Daitaree Nayak, a native had agreed to be baptized in the presence of five hundred of his relatives and friends.[167]

Conversion was also achieved by the missionaries through their individual or collective efforts. No other intermediate steps were taken to achieve this end. They had direct access to the people at bazars, festivals, at churches and maths.[168]

Ancestral faith was never given up by the natives of Orissa in a fit of emotional outburst.

The early converts deliberated rationally and compared the scriptures of both the religions. Some had arguments with the missionaries, some underwent mental agony and conflicting emotional changes before coming to a conclusion. They were aware of the risks involved in changing their faith.[169]

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This stage of hesitation was known as the stage of inquiry which preceded conversion. Those who were keen to know about Christianity and participated in discussions pertaining to it were named inquirers.

Rev. Sutton wrote, once while preaching near the Jagannath Temple in Puri, he came across an inquirer. He listened attentively and when some body from the crowd opposed he came forward to declare with watery eyes "This is the truth."[170] He continued for some time as inquirer but never became a convert. The missionaries never pressed hard to make converts out of these inquirers. Only when they were determined to do so the missionaries went ahead. This period of enquiry remained uncertain and lasted for few months and sometimes few years. The wives and children of early converts were allowed to lead independent lives unless they voluntarily opted for baptism. The Orissa Missionaries wanted honest Christians. They baptized adults from amongst those who gave credible evidence by a corresponding talk and conversion that their profession of christianity is sincere."[171] Applications of several Hindus and Muslims to become Christians were rejected as their motives were for gains.[172]

When Erun, the first to be baptized requested Bampton not to tell his friends and relatives that he had lost his caste, Bampton refused. He told him that he would publicly declare his caste gone.[173] Eli Noyes, the American missionary mentioned that some 20 inquirers were discouraged when their motives were found to be dishonest.[174]

In the beginning the natives who wished to become converts never did so out of economic necessity or with an intention to gain improved social status.[175] They lost their caste, their status, and their profession. None of the early converts belonged to low caste, nor were they very poor. A handful of converts and a few missionaries did not offer them a real society with its attendant comforts.

In fact the first converts were men of good caste and regular members of the Hindu community.[176] They were Brahmins, Khandayats, Karanas. By profession they were school masters, writers or accountants, astrologers, farmers and husbandmen.[177] They had average intelligence and earned respect in their society. They had a fair knowledge of Hindu Shastras and Christian literature.[178] "Indeed all these converts have displayed a vigour of character, not usual among Hindus. They were men and women who had experience in the world."[179] These people lost more in comparison to their gains. They had to give up their comfortable social existence to become a Christian.

Mass conversion was absent in the Bengal Orissa Mission. The converts had been won individually. A good number of them were caste people from the villages.[180]

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Subsequently a good number of converts came from mission schools and mission orphanages. Destitute children who had been abandoned at pilgrim centres and during famines by their parents were trained in these orphanages and schools. When they became responsible they chose to embrace Christianity.

The orphanages of Cuttack, Berhampur, Pipli and Balasore provided young converts.

In 1849, in Balasore there were 65 Christians out of which 29 were school children and in Berhampur there were 162 Christians out of which 89 were children of the orphan schools connected with it.[181] The same can be said of the American Baptists.

During the famines, hunger and poverty forced the natives to accept Christianity. In such conditions, high caste Hindus sold their children to the missionaries. Their condition improved when they were fed and financed by the missionaries. They were provided with jobs to earn a livelihood.[182] In Berhampur, the mission schools were made useful for converting the young who were brought up in them.[183]

The orphan girls at the missionary school at Pipli were married off to Christian cultivators at the Missionary Settlement.[184]

Female converts were generally the wives of male converts and rescued girls from meriah, prostitution and devadasis who were brought up in Orphanages.

In later stages when the tribal people, i.e. the Santals, Coles, Konds, Savaras, Oraons become converts the intention to become converts varied. It was a fruitful field for Christian Missionaries.

In 1931, four tribal communities provided 88 per cent of the total number of Indian Christians in Bihar and Orissa. In 1921, the percentage was 87 per cent.[185]

The Santals and Coles of Balasore and Jellasore were converted by the American Baptists stationed there. These tribals often took shelter with the missionaries in times of scarcity or when there was a drought.[186]

The Konds were animists. When 'Meriah' or Human sacrifice, practised by the Konds was banned in 1855, by the government the Meriah victims were rescued and entrusted to the care of the missionaries, and they brought them under their faith. Specially the British Baptists interest "had been roused by the many child Meriah victims put into the care of the Orissa Baptist Mission in Berhampur and Cuttack."[187] Conversions amongst the Konds were also due to other reasons. Personal factors for conversion were they would "find security within the Christian community" for other it was sheer economic pressure in times of illness.[188] There were also three more reasons for conversions. They were unable to bear the expenses for performing animism

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(worship and sacrifices), some lost faith in ritualism and decided to accept a simple faith and since they lived in a community, if the majority of the villagers opted to become Christians the others followed them to gain security and fellowship both physical and spiritual.[189] Another fairly common reason for conversion amongst the Konds was the healing power of the name of Jesus. This had been admitted by Dr. Stanley Thomas who was an experienced medical worker amongst these people.[190] Apart from all these considerations the most usual consideration for conversion was bira toru rai - by "Kinship friendship." This occurred through blood relationship, marriage connections, family reunions at weddings and funerals, through traditional visits between related households.[191] The Konds believed in community-living and relationship. Therefore in their society moral initiative was traditionally the prerogative of the community than of the individual,[192] whereas amongst the caste people, it is the individual and not the community that decided about their conversions or change of faith.

In the same way the hill tribes like the Savaras were baptized by the missionary members of the Canadian Baptist Telugu mission.[193] The tribals did not have caste distinctions. They did not lose their caste after conversion.

Except for the aboriginals, most of the converts embraced Christianity not for any worldly gains.[194] In southern India converts to Christianity were generally poor and were out-castes. Therefore they became Christians to avoid being persecuted by the Hindus.[195] Sutton had also stated - We have heard and read of persons in India and elsewhere being brought to embrace Christianity, at least in profession, from embarrassed circumstances from loss of caste, or from some other mixed or unworthy motives. But no suspicion of this sort attaches to these Orissa Converts.[196] He added that the people of Orissa "in the usual way of distribution received first a tract or two, then the gospel; then though not at all contemplated originally, sought the guidance of the living teacher of Christianity, and finally constrained by the power of divine truth, abandoned their idols, their caste, their standing in society, their livelihood and all their hopes as Hindoos, to become the followers of Christ."[197]

It is to be acknowledged that conversions were achieved against the full force of Hinduism that existed in Orissa and against the British government open patronage of Hindu idolatrous institutions and practices attitude of the rulers of the tributary mahals was a kind of mixed feelings.[198]

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At first the Rajah of Athgarh was angry when people from his Zamindari became converts. He threatened them with expulsion from his estates. When the missionaries visited him the latter permitted the converts to remain and to build their houses outside the heathen village.[199]

The Raja of Mayurbhanj was friendly towards the missionaries. On 12th September, 1827 Rev. Suttôn was sent to meet the Raja of Mayurbhanj. Their conversation on religion was quite healthy. He received an Oriya New Testament, one or two tracts and a poem with three elementary books in English to be read by the young Rajas. He promised to read them and consider their contents. He allowed the missionaries to enter and preach in his territory.[200]

Compared to missionary labour conversion was relatively slow. Conversion had its attendant difficulties. There were many unseen obstacles for which the missionaries were not fully equipped.

The handicaps were many. Lack of good communication, illiteracy, rigidity of social customs, traditions[201] and unsuitable climate stood on the missionaries' way.

The climate of Orissa did not suit the early missionaries. All of them fell ill frequently. Lack of medical facilities dampened their spirits. They lost their wives and children while working in Orissa.[202]

The first batch of American Baptists, Messrs Noyes and Phillips were in charge of Sambalpur station in 1836. They abandoned this station due to prolonged illness and thereafter chose Balasore as a station.[203] Eli Noyes left India in June, 1841 and returned to America due to failing health.[204] Though these missionaries bravely faced the situation it definitely brought a setback to the infant mission. Rev. Bampton continued to work in spite of his illness. He mentioned - "I keep plodding on and my work becomes more and more interesting to me.[205]

The pioneers were hampered by bad means of communication. In those days there were no railways, no good roads. Their only hope was a palanquin ride or on horseback or by foot.

Added to it the missionaries had organisational problems. Twenty years after the birth of the Orissa mission, the chaplains were found to be deficient in ability and character and were frequently changed. Some were even sent back to England for intemperate living.[206] More so too much was expected from a missionary who had too much to do. Apart from being a religious preacher he was expected to discharge multifarious responsibilities. A certain Rowland Hill suggested that the missionary "ought to be a man of all work; he should know how to preach a sermon and make a wheel barrow."[207]

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The people's response to missionary overtures was poor. Hinduism existed in full force, the worship of Jagannath was universal. On the other hand those who were ready to become converts or became converts had to face numerous difficulties.

In the first place a convert lost his caste, his relatives, friends, his property and his profession.

According to Lacey - "Caste is the only badge of honour, and when this is gone, they are counted the refuse and scouring of all things."[208] They were badly criticized and persecuted. In the midst of disgrace and persecution they had no body to comfort them except the missionaries. They were few in numbers and their habits being different were not able to form a society for themselves.[209]

Caste once renounced was never regained. Converts feared persecution by their caste members. When Bamadeb was baptized his brothers and caste mates formed a group and kept him in a place away from Cuttack. The Commissioner however ordered for his release.[210] When Hari Padhi was baptized in 1833, his relatives forced his wife to stay separate from him and persecuted her. However she resolved to join her husband.[211]

The converts had to severe their connections with their near and dear ones. It brought emotional turmoil to both the parties. "The parents must bid adieu to their beloved children, supposing they are married. The children to the parents, the brother to the sister and the sister to the brother and soon through all the grades of human relationship."[112] Some times the parents returned to meet their family but their hearts remained unchanged and created more tension by reminding their family about their existence.

Socially ostracized the prospect of marrying their children became discouraging. Lacey has mentioned that these converts "cannot marry them among their own caste, for no one could unite with them; no other caste will marry with them, and they are not sufficiently numerous themselves from marriages. This is a great evil, particularly in regard to female children, for in India it is almost impossible to save a grown up female from ruin.[213] Some had to defer their baptism till they married their children. Daitari Nayak (of Chasapara village) had to fix his daughter's marriage before becoming a convert.[214]

Social Ostracism was a strong weapon against converts. People of other castes and their own refused to employ them, sell them anything or purchase anything from them. The prospects of converts children bearing a trade for their living was discouraging. No Hindu would come forward to teach them. The Christian community was negligent and was unable to provide them any solace. They were also subject-

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ed to many disgraceful inconveniences. The barber refused to shave them, the washerman to wash the cloths and others to thatch houses.[215] It is not the custom of the people of India to do these things with their own hands; these are distinct trades, and so they can not do them, however desirable it is they should, and it is counted the greatest disgrace to be refused shaving, washing etc.[216] Krupasindhu kept long beard and wore dirty clothes for such reasons. Ram Chandra's mother, wife and children refused to eat or associate with him for sometime.[217] A convert was also deprived of all his property the moment he was baptized. Nothing was left for him. Plough, bullocks, house, pots, live stock, in some cases clothes were taken away and he had to begin entirely anew.[218] When the caste Disabilities Removal Act was introduced in 1850, they had access to their ancestral property[219] For practical purpose they became destitutes after conversion. Bamadeb lost a small freehold estate. The Rajah of Athagarh did not favour Christian tenants for his land.[220]

In some cases the family members of the converts considered them dead and performed their funeral rites. The husbands of Komalee and Daunee performed the funeral rites for their wives and then married other women.[221] When these two females were baptized the husbands were instigated to bring a case in a Court. The magistrate ordered the women to remove their ornaments and most of their clothes. They were deprived of every particle of their property, the child was taken away in the open court from the mother and given to his father.[222]

Damodar was baptized at Cuttack without the knowledge of his family. When he returned to his village at Khundittar he thought of the grief, his mother would feel when she saw him to be a Christian. He resolved to hide the fact of baptism. On his way to his village he bought a new necklace and hid his christian books in the jungle. At home he indulged in idolatrous practices. His conscience tormented him and then he returned to Cuttack.[223] He felt restless again and he went back to his parents and sought from the Raja of Athgarh the permission to construct a house next to his father's. His parents asked him to consult the Puri Pandas how to regain his caste, otherwise to remain as a Baishnab. The Puri Pandas suggested to go on a religious tour and then he can be accepted by his caste people. He felt very remorse and returned to the native preachers to become a sincere Christian for the rest of his life.[224]

Before a convert could decide they were dissuaded by their friends and relatives not to do so. Lacey had admitted - "The people are in the habit of administering poison to their friends to prevent them from becoming Christians, or rather to destroy their responsibility and have

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an excuse for confining them. Several of our converts have been so served."[225] Lacey had narrated one such incident. A man from Khundittar village had left his family and friends to become a Christian. He had spent a night with Lacey and others. The next afternoon his friends came and took him and administered the juice of Dhootoora seeds. When Lacey visited him he was not allowed to communicate with him. They had married off his two daughters, to avoid trouble in case he became a Christian.[226]

In such a tense atmosphere some of the Hindus suppressed their feelings for Christianity. The missionary Lacey had mentioned about two females who were disallowed to leave the house or talk to anyone by the head of the family. They had shown strong inclination towards the gospel. A Christian native female was directed to go to that village on some pretext, that she might perchance meet them and speak to them. She went, but the whole village assembled and abused her and turned her out of the place.[227] For the converts, Christianity was not a matter of emotional attachment but called for endurance and sacrifice.[228]

Keeping in view the difficulties the natives had to undergo after being a convert, the missionaries of Orissa took measures to rehabilitate them. The missionaries tried to establish Christian villages in the vicinity of Cuttack and encouraged Christian marriages in order to build a native Christian community.

The missionaries and Christian friends at Cuttack always gave a convert "enough to start him again; and means have been put in operation to get the ryots, out of the hands of the oppressive mahajans."[229] At times even Hindu ryots took refuge in Christian settlements to escape the wrath of the local Zamindars.[230] The economic condition of the Oriya Christians improved compared to the Hindus.

Marriages amongst the Christians made the Oriya Christians a close-knit community. It broke the caste barrier that existed in their pre-conversion Hindu society. Social intercourse increased when Europeans, Americans, Eurasians and Oriya Christians ate and drank together in community dinners.[231] The Oriya Christians were hospitable, honest and charitable. The baptized were expected to be honest members of the Church[232] and true to their religion. They were required to observe few rules, to remain true citizens and lead a pious and simple life, to avoid gambling, participating in idol feasts and festivals, to abstain from interferences, abstain from amusements like races, dances, theatres and to fall into debts.[233] Education and community living elevated their character. Their new faith gave them a new spirit of discipline and orderliness. A sense of personal hygiene de-

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veloped and they were very neat and clean in their daily habits. Their knowledge of English and acquaintance with local government officials was an advantage for them as regards public employment. These converts were confined too much to their community. Therefore they did not form an agency of vertical and horizontal social change. Intimate social intercourse by the Christians with the Hindus was clearly avoided when the Baptismal Convenant clearly stated that a convert should avoid friendship, unnecessary companionship and matrimony with non Christians.[234] They also lacked upward social mobility whereas they failed to interact with their surrounding Hindu settlements. The Oriya Christians never emerged as social leaders. They lacked an enlightened group of middle class of converts to bring a revolutionary social change.

However the Orissa mission never intended to be Anglicised like the Bengali Christians. These converts were trained to be one amongst their own people in their habits, dress and standard of living. So that there won't be any prejudice against the Church of Orissa.[235] The Oriya converts proved themselves suitable as evangelists, teachers, copyists etc.

Some of the converts were too sincere to their faith. Erun desired to petition the Court of Directors to empower him to go about the country and destroy the idols.[236]

The Oriya Christians also replaced the missionaries by playing the role of white missionaries. They preached at bazaars, places of pilgrimage, distributed tracts, managed missionary schools and encouraged the people to become converts. At times they proved themselves to be more than Christians by condemning the Hindu socio-religious institutions at public places. Gangadhar for example wanted to petition the Government to allow him to destroy the idol of Jagannath.[237]

Some of the early converts had the potential to act as agents to spread christianity. Some of them were ordained to become native preachers. Even non-ordained native christians acted as preachers.

By 1840, fifteen Oriya Christians had been ordained as evangelists. A few of them had been appointed to the pastoral office.[238] "Several of these brethren are men of character as well as ability, are well read in the Hindu Shastras, and can encounter the brahmans in the most determined manner; can expose their pretensions and deceptions, and successfully exhibit the inconsistencies of Hinduism in the clearest light."[239] Gangadhar, Ramachandra and Siba Patra were the early converts who turned to be efficient native preachers.[240]

These preachers were expected to undermine the influence of the Brahmins in the Oriya society. They were local people and had a fair

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chance of influencing the people than the missionaries who were less trusted by the people. More so the missionaries also expected the British Government would not react much towards the natives involvement in preaching as they would in case the white missionaries preached. The missionaries wished to raise an educated native ministry.[241] In 1841, the new evangelists were entrusted to Rev. Sutton in Cuttack for special training. The first college for preachers in Orissa was established. Five years later (1846) a Mission Academy was opened to train students to propagate Christianity. It was later on known as Theological College. In the twentieth century the college was closed at times due to lack of funds, lack of suitable candidates in any numbers and lack of workers. It re-opened when the situation improved. The American Baptist Mission also used to send men for training and providing a member of the staff. They also provided a Principal for one year during the absence of Mr. Fellows.[242]

A Bible school was run in Bolangir from 1828 to 1932. Local workers who did not have much educational background to fit into the course in the Cuttack college might be trained in this school for village work. It was a two years' course and workers of the West Orissa District Union received their training there.[243] "The effect on Christianity on the society as a whole has not been significant."[244] The missionaries of Orissa failed to become an agent of remarkable social change. The converts were not able to influence the higher social class. The Zamindars and the Rajas remained unaffected by Christianity. At times they were curious to know about this new religion, but did not patronize it as a religion of their state.

The Government (British) did not openly encourage the missionaries to convert the Oriyas. Parallel educational institutions were established by the Government that reduced missionary influence at certain places. Conversion did not receive any state patronage. Rather the government patronized idolatry by upholding pilgrim tax and maintaining dubious connection with the Jagannath temple. Curiously enough, the Government did not accept or reject evangelization. It remained a silent promoter of Christianity. The civil divisions of the Mughalbandi area where the Government administered directly were generally chosen as missionary station. In the Garhjat states where British laws were not enforced the missionaries could not farewell. One thing noticeable was Muslims were very few who became converts. According to Sutton one or two tracts were addressed to them and there were occasional appeals to them.[245] Conversion, therefore was mainly confined to Hindus and tribals. The Oriya Christians were a minority who were not able to cast much influence in social changes.

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The Muslims were an important portion amongst the inhabitants of Orissa. They were one seventh of the company's subjects in the Moghulbandi region (the best cultivated part of Orissa) commonly called Pathans they were a turbulent and troublesome race. The original muslim population were the Afghan invaders of India and gradually their number increased by accessions and occasional conversions from among the Hindus. Most of them were soldiers, police officers and servants to Europeans and many of them were farmers.[246]

According to Sutton they were "the Catholics of the East bigoted, proud, intolerant, inaccessible. They will occasionally side with the missionary in pleading for the authority of God and in deprecating idolatry, but sneer at the doctrines of Christ and any application of our exhortations to themselves. They need no saviour. They can listen to no authority save that of Mahomet, and after gnash their rage at our mission."[247]

The spread of Christianity in Orissa brought some changes in Hinduism. Reformist cults like the Brahmo movement of Bengal entered Orissa in the sixties of the 19th Century. One indigenous cult, Mahima Dharma acting as a challenge to Christianity, became popular in Orissa.[248] These cults rejected the evils of Hinduism which forced the Hindus to prefer Christianity. They rejected caste distinction and did not believe in idolatry. They accepted monotheism. Advaitabada or the belief of the existence of the supreme being in every animate and inanimate objects was the essence of Mahima Dharma.[249] In the second half of the 19th century educated urban people of Orissa had been attracted towards Brahmo faith as a reaction against Christian missionaries. Mahima Dharma became popular with the rural folk and acted as a check against mass conversions to Christianity.[250] The cult attracted people because it was simple and people could remain Hindus without being forced to observe rigid customs.

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1. A. Sutton, *Orissa and its Evangelization*, PP.148-49.
2. *Ibid*, P.149.
3. J. Peggs, *A History of the General Baptist Mission*, P.200.
   P. Mukherjee, *Evangelization in Orissa and its Impact*, P.459, Chapter, 38. Extract from Sidelights on the History and Culture of Orissa edited by M. N. Das - The date of baptism is fixed on 27th April, 1823. J. C. E., *Orissa Baptist Mission*, P.86. Mr. Rennell was baptized by Rev. Bampton. At his baptism a number of Indo-British, a European and his family and several natives were spectators.
4. J. C. E., *Orissa Baptist Mission*, P.160.

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J. Peggs, *A History of the General Baptist Mission*, P 350.

5. *Ibid.*
6. J. C. E., *Orissa Baptist Mission*, P.158.
7. J. Peggs, *A History of the General Baptist Mission*, P.350.
8. *Ibid.* Sunder was an English School Master at Cuttack.
9. J. C. E., *Orissa Baptist Mission*, PP.303-04.
   Later on Mr. Beddy became a missionary at Calcutta.
10. A.Sutton, *Orissa and its Evangelization*, P.106.
11. J Singh, *The Rise of Christianity in Orissa and the lives of some leading Oriya Converts*, PP.111-12. Conflicting dates regarding baptism of Erun, 25th December, 1827 - J. Peggs, P 209, J.C.E., PP.335-36, March, 1827- On Christian Missions in Orissa, C.C.O. New series Vol.X, 120 O. S. - Vol.XVIII No.211, P.552 December, 1849, 25th December, 1826. D.S. Wells, *One hundred and fiftieth anniversary of the Baptist Missionary Society in India*, P.108
12. A Sutton, *Orissa and its Evangelization*, P.103. J. Peggs, *A History of the General Baptist Mission*, PP.353-54. Erun met Bampton in March, 1827 and was baptized in December, 1827.
13. D. S. Wells, *One hundred and fiftieth anniversary of the Baptist Missionary Society in India* (1792-1942), PP.108-09
14. J. Singh, *The Rise of Christianity in Orissa and the Lives of some leading Oriya Converts*, PP.43-45. J. Peggs, *A History of the General Baptist Mission*, P.212. J. C. E., Orissa-Baptist Mission, P.333. D. S. Wells, *One hundred and fiftieth anniversary of the B.M.S. in India* (1792-1942), P.108. - G. Sarangi was baptized in the Mahanadi river. It is mentioned the date of baptism as March, 1827.
15. J. C. E., *Orissa Baptist Mission*, P.333.
16. D. S. Wells, *One hundred and fiftieth anniversary of the B.M.S. in India*, P.108. On Christian Missions in Orissa C.C.O. O. S. Vol. XVIII No.211 N. S. Vol. X No.120, December, 1849, P.540.
17. J. C. E., *Orissa Baptist Mission*, PP.374-75.
18. *Ibid*, P.375.
19. *Ibid*, P.376.
20. *Ibid.*, PP.377. (Gangadhar's wife was baptized on Ist April, 1828) - J.C.E., P.399.
21. Ibid, P.378. Three months ago this widow had sent a box full of her virgins, saints, crosses etc.
22. *Ibid.*
23. C. C. O., *On Christian Missions in Orissa*, N.S.Vol. X No. 120, O.S. Vol. XVIII, No. 211, Dec., 1849, P.540. Sadhu was born in 1720 A.D., died in 1838, D. Swaro, P.48.
24. *Kujibar publication* - Pamphlet No. 8, P.17. K. P. Mohanty, *Mahatma Sadhu Sunder Das, The cream. International Monthly, June, 1987 No.6, P.12. S. S Das worked as a warrior (Paik) in Athagarh Rajas militia. He was a Kshatriya by caste.*- J. Singh, The Rise of Christianity in Orissa and the lives of some leading Oriya Converts, PP.7-8.
25. *Orissa State Gazetteer, Orissa State Volume* - I edited by N. C. Behuria, P. 29.

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26. C. C. O., *On Christian Mission in Orissa*. N. S. Vol. - X, 120 O. S. Vol.-XVIII, 211 December, 1849, P.540
27. K. P Mohanty, *Mahatma Sadhu Sunder Das, The Cream*. International Monthly, June, 1987, No.6, P.12.
28. J. Singh, *The Rise of Christianity in Orissa and the lives of some leading Oriya Converts*, P. 8.
29. A. Sutton, *Orissa and its Evangelization*, P.156.
30. C. C. O., *On Christian Mission in Orissa*, N. S. Vol. X, 120, O. S. Vol. XVIII 211 December, 1849, P.540.
31. *Ibid*.
32. D. S. Wells, *One hundred and fiftieth Anniversary of the B.M.S. in India* (1792-1942), P.108.
33. C. C. O., *On Christian Missions in Orissa*, N.S Vol. X, 120 O. S. Vol. XVIII, 211 December, 1849, P.541.
34. J. Singh, *The Rise of Christianity in Orissa and the lives of some leading Oriya Converts*, P.9. C. C. O. - On Christian Missions in Orissa, N. S. Vol. X, No.120, O.S. Vol.-XVIII, No.211, December, 1849, P.541.
35. J. C. E., *Orissa Baptist Mission*, P 249.
36. D. S. Wells, *One hundred and fiftieth Anniversary of the B.M.S. in India* (1792-1942), P.108.
37. C. C. O., *On Christian Missions in Orissa*, N. S. Vol. X, 120 O. S. Vol. XVIII, 121, December, 1849, PP.541-42. S. S. Das died in April, 1838.
38. J. Peggs, *A History of the General Baptist Mission*, P.227.
39. J. Singh, *The Rise of Christianity in Orissa and the lives of some leading Oriya Converts*, PP.43-51.
40. P. Mukherjee, *History of Orissa*, Vol. VI, P.464.
41. *Gazetteer of India, Orissa State*, Vol. III edited by N. C. Behura, P.475.
42. J. Peggs, *India's cries to British Humanity*, PP.166-67.
43. J. Singh, *The Rise of Christianity in Orissa and the Lives of some leading Oriya converts*, P.50.
44. C. C. O., *On Christian Missions in Orissa*, N. S. Vol. X, 120 O. S. No. Vol. XVIII, 211, December, 1849, P.42.
45. J. Singh, *The Rise of Christianity in Orissa and the Lives of some Leading Oriya Converts*, P.555.
46. C. C. O., *On Christian Mission in Orissa*, N. S. Vol. X, 120 O. S. Vol. XVIII, 211 December, 1849, P.542.
47. J. Peggs, A History of General Baptist Mission, P.335.
48. D. M. Albaugh, *The Light in India's Hand, Opcit*, P.147.
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52. *Ibid*.
53. D. S. Wells, *One hundred and fiftieth Anniversary of the B.M.S. in India* (1792-1942), P. 113.
54. M. A. Sherring, *The history of protestant missions in India*, PP. 150-51.

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The statistics given are the fruits of the British Baptists working in stations in Orissa. The details of the Christians of different stations is given under mission stations.

55. *Gazetteer of India, Orissa State,* Vol. I, edited by N. C. Behuria, P.282.
56. C. C. O., Vol. IV, No. 2 February, 1835, PP. 95-96.
57. As per the census of 1901 there were 382 Christians at Athgarh and 161 Christians in Nilgiri.
58. *Census of India,* 1931, Vol. II *Bihar and Orissa,* Part - I. Report by W. G. Lacey ICS, Superintendent of Census Operations, Bihar and Orissa, P. 256. 3 coastal districts-Cuttack, Puri and Balasore.
59. *Ibid.,* P.260.
60. *Ibid.,* P.261.
61. *Ibid, Bihar and Orissa* Part - I. Report by W. G. Lacey I.C.S., Superintendent of Census operations, Bihar and Orissa. P. 261.
62. D. M. Albaugh, *The Light in India's Hand.,* P.17.
63. J. C. Robbins, *Following the Pioneer,* P.121.
64. Rev B. H. *Badley, Indian Missionary Directory and Memorial Volume,* P.166.
65. S. M. Pathak, *American Missionaries and Hinduism,* PP.45-46.
66. American Board files, M. S. S. Letter of Gordon Hall, January 25, 1814 Vol. II, PP.1-55.
67. A. Sutton, *Orissa and its Evangelization,* P.114.
68. C. C. O. - New Series Vol. X. 120 Old Series Vol.-XVIII No.211, December, 1849, *On Christian Missions in Orissa,* P. 543.
69. J. C. E., *Orissa Baptist Mission,* P.30.
70. C. C. O. - N. S. Vol. X, No.120 O. S. Vol. XVIII, No. 211, December, 1849, P. 543. *On Christian Missions in Orissa,*
71. J. C. E., *Orissa Baptist Mission,* P.462.
72. *Ibid.,* P.463.
73. A. Sutton, *Orissa and its Evangelization,* P.115.
74. J. C. E., *Orissa Baptist Mission,* P. 463.
75. J. Peggs, *A History of the General Baptist Mission,* P. 335.
76. J. Peggs, *A History of the General Baptist Mission,* P. 341.
77. *Ibid.,* P. 339.
78. J. C. E., *Orissa Baptist Mission,* P.162.
79. *Ibid,* PP. 162-63.
80. *Ibid.,* PP.164-65.
81. *Ibid,* PP. 165-66.
82. *Ibid.,* P.347.
83. *Ibid.,* PP.278-79.
84. *Ibid.,* P.279.
85. S. M. Pathak, *American Missionaries and Hinduism,* PP. 47-48.
86. *Presbyterian Board, Annual Report,* 1852, P. 32.
87. J. C. E., *Orissa Baptist Mission,* P. 128.
88. *Ibid,* PP. 118-19.
89. *Ibid.,* PP.119-20.
90. *Ibid,* P.120.
91. J. C. E., *Orissa-Baptist Mission,* PP. 122-23. (Till then Sutton had not learnt Oriya)

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93. *The Encyclopaedia of Missions, Opcit* P. 403. The Great Shrine of Jagannath in 1849, C.C.O. Vol. X No.117 (New Series) September, 1849, PP.402-403 The Rathjatra at Puri, C.C.O. Vol. XII, N.S. No.141, September, 1851, PP. 403-405.
94. D. Swaro, *The Christian Missionaries in Orissa*, P. 18. In 1857 when the Sepoy Mutiny occured many missionaries and native Christians were found murdered in India by the Sepoys. The Orissa missionaries feared that these Sepoys might have attended the Car Festivals. D. Swaro, P. 39.
95. J. Peggs, *A History of the General Baptist Mission*, PP. 178, 267, 268.
96. C.C.O.-"*The Puri Rath Jatra*" Vol. XI, No.130 (New series) October, 1850, PP.456-58. C.C.O. - *The Great Shrine of Jagannath*, Vol. X No.117 (N.S.) September, 1849, P.404.
97. A. Sutton, *Orissa and its Evangelization*, P.116.
98. J. Peggs, *A History of the General Baptist Mission*, P. 268. Pilgrims were estimated ranging from 30,000 to 200,000.
99. A. Sutton, *Orissa and its Evangelization*, P. 115.
100. *Ibid.*
101. J. C. E., *Orissa Baptist Mission*, PP. 279-80.
102. C. C. O., *On Christian Missions in Orissa*, N. S. Vol. X, No. 120, O. S. Vol. XVIII, No. 211, December,1849, P. 545.
103. C. C. O., *On Christian Missionsin Orissa*, N. S. Vol. X, No. 120, O. S. Vol. XVIII No. 211, P. 544.
104. A. Sutton, *Orissa and its Evangelization*, P. 116.
105. C. O. O., *On Christian Mission in Orissa*, N.S. Vol. X, No.120 - O.S. Vol. XVIII, No.211, P.544.
106. *Ibid*.
107. A. Sutton, *Orissa and its Evangelization*, P. 326.
108. J. C. E., *Orissa Baptist Mission*, P. 166.
109. *Ibid.*, PP.170, 171, 174.
110. A. Sutton, *Orissa and its Evangelization*, P.326.
111. *Ibid.*, P.327.
112. *Ibid.*
113. *Ibid.*, P.328.
114. J. C. E., *Orissa Baptist Mission*, P. 35.
115. *Ibid.*
116. A. Sutton, *Orissa and its Evangelization*, P. 114.
117. C. C. O., *On Christian Missions in Orissa*, N. S. Vol. X, No. 120 -O. S. Vol. XVIII, No. 211, December, 1849, P.543.
118. J. C. E., *Orissa Baptist Mission*, P. 29.
119. *On Christian Mission in Orissa* - C.C.O. N.S. Vol. No.120, O.S. Vol. XVIII, No. 211, December, 1849, P.544.
120. A. Sutton, *Orissa and its Evangelization, Opcit*, P. 328.
121. *Ibid*, P. 324. Amongst these Europeans were the civil servants of the East India Company, commissioned and non-commissioned officers of their army.

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122. *Ibid.*, PP.320-21.
123. *Ibid.*, P.116.
124. *Ibid.*, P.324.
125. J. C. E., *Orissa Baptist Mission*, P. 30. The Sight of a European standing used to draw people only out of curiosity.
126. *Ibid.*, P.31.
127. *On Christian Missions in Orissa* C. C. O. No. S. Vol. X, No. 120 O. S. Vol. XVIII, No. 211, December, 1849, P. 544.
128. *Ibid.*
129. *Ibid.*, P.545. Gangadhar and Ramachandra - the early native preachers were well equipped with the knowledge of Hindu Shastras.
130. J. C. E., *Orissa Baptist Mission*, PP. 175-76.
131. *Ibid.*, P. 176.
132. W. H. Carey, *The Oriental Christian Biography*, Vol. III (Calcutta, 1822), P. 564. The British and Foreign Evangelical Review, Vol. II, No.24 (London, 1858), P.452.
133. *Friends of India Quarterly* Vol. VI, September, 1822, PP. 238, 242, 247.
134. J. C. E., *Orissa Baptist Mission*, PP. 81-82.
135. *On Christian Mission in Orissa*, C.C.O., N. S. Vol. X, No. 120, O. S. Vol. XVIII, No. 211, December, 1849, P. 544.
136. J. Peggs, *A History of the General Baptist Mission*, P. 343.
137. J. C. E., *Orissa Baptist Mission*, P. 305.
138. *Ibid.*, P.33.
139. J. Peggs, *A History of the General Baptist Mission*, P. 343.
140. *Ibid.*
141. J. Peggs, *A History of the General Baptist Mission*, P. 343. J. C. E., *Orissa Baptist Mission*, P. 308.
142. J. C. E., *Orissa Baptist Mission*, P.467.
143. *Ibid.*, PP.307-08. (These books were read and their contents were a constant subject of interest.)
144. *Ibid.*, P.465.
145. *On Christian Mission in Orissa*, C.C.O. No. S. Vol. X, No. 120, O. S. Vol. XVIII, No. 211 December, 1849, P.550.
146. J. C. E., *Orissa Baptist Mission*, P. 465.
147. *Ibid.*
148. *On Christian Mission in Orissa*, C.C.O. No. N.S. Vol. X, No.120, O. S. Vol. XVIII No.211, December, 1849, P. 550.
149. C. C. O., N. S. Vol. X, No.120 - *Old Series Vol.* XVIII, No. 211, December, 1849, PP.551-52 - On Christian Missions in Orissa. Some tracts like 'True Refuge' and 'Jewel Mine of Salvation' were popular amongst the people of Orissa.
150. *Ibid.*
151. The tracts distributed on tnis occasion were written in Bengali, Hindustani and Nepalese so that they can carry the message of Jesus to different part of India. - D. Swaro, *The Christian Missionaries in Orissa*, P.23. J. C. E., *Orissa Baptist Mission*, P.33. On 7th July, 1826 at the Car Festival at Puri, tracts were distributed.

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152. J.C.E., *Orissa Baptist Mission Introductory* (XXIII).
153. *Ibid., Introductory* (xxiii - xxiv).
154. J. Peggs, *A History of the General Baptist Mission*, P. 343.
155. K. Majumdar, *Baptist Missionaries in Orissa* 1822-58. A Study in Western Impact on 19th Century Society-Indian History Congress Proceedings of the 37th Session, Calicut, 1976, P. 328.
156. *Visits from an Oriya Guru*, Christian Spectator Vol. V, No. 58, April, 1876, P. 392.
157. J. C. E., *Orissa Baptist Mission*, PP. 305-06.
158. *Encyclopaedia of Missions*, Opcit P. 622.
Orissa Mission, The Missionary Herald (N.S.), No. LXXI, London 1862, P. 162.
D. Swaro, *Christian Missionaries in Orissa*, P. 23.
159. J. Peggs, *A History of the General Baptist Mission*, P. 222.
At one such meeting at Cuttack it was decided that Rev. C. Lacy should print 300 copies of his tracts 'Am I a Christian?' 3000 copies of the First catechism. Rev. Sutton was to print 5,000 copies of the 'True Refuge' translated from Bengali, 5,000 copies of the revised ediction of 'The Jewel Mine of Salvation'; to prepare the manuscript of a hymn book in Oriya adopting as many plain metres as possible. He was also asked to print 2000 copies of the second catechism, to prepare and print 2,500 copies of 'An Abridgement of the Bible'. It was also decided that 2,000 copies of the tract 'Petumber Singh' be also printed.
160. J. Peggs, *A History of the General Baptist Mission*, P. 339.
161. J.C.E., *Orissa Baptist Mission*, P. 36.
Bhogerpoor is the village from where most of the early converts and large numbers of inquirers came. It had also the advantage of being surrounded by many villages and markets.J. Peggs, P. 220.
162. J. Peggs, *A History of the General Baptist Mission.*, P. 220.
163. M.A. Sherring, *The Hisotry of Protestant Missions in India*, P. 151.
164. *On Christian Missions in Orissa*, C.C.O., N. S. Vol. X, No. 120, O. S. Vol. - XVIII No. 211, December, 1849 P. 550.
165. *Ibid.*
166. K. Majumdar, *Baptist Missionaries in Orissa—A study in Western Impact on 19th Century Society* (1822-58), P. 328.
167. J. Singh, *The Rise of Christianity in Orissa and the Lives of some leading Oriya converts*, PP. 72-73.
168. Math. Math is the residence of Hindu sanyasis. Kujibar Math was the residence of Sadhu Sundara Das.
169. K. Majumdar, *Baptist Missionaires in Orissa—A Study in Western Impact on 19th century Society* (1822-58), Indian History Congress Proceedings of the 37th Session, Calicut, 1976, P. 328.
170. A. Sutton, *Orissa and its Evangelization*, P. 150.
171. J.C.E., *Orissa Baptist Mission*, P. 443.
172. A. Sutton, *A Narrative of the Mission to Orissa, Opcit*, P. 416.
173. J.C.E., Orissa Baptist Mission, PP. 335-36.
174. J. Peggs, A History of the General Baptist Mission Opcit, P. 336.

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175. K. Majumdar, *Baptist Missionaries in Orissa—A study in Western Impact on 19th Century Society* (1822-58), The Indian History Congress Proceedings of the 37th Session, Calicut, 1976, P. 328.
176. A. Sutton, *Orissa and its Evangelization*, P. 160. (to some extent caste is identified with profession)
177. *Ibid.*, P. 162.
178. Many of them learnt about Shastras and Christian literature under the guidance of Sadhu Sundara Das. - C.C.O. - N.S. Vol. X, No. 120, O.S. Vol. XVIII, No. 211, December, 1849, P. 540.
179. *On Christian Mission in Orissa*, C.C.O., *N. S. Vol. X No. 120, O.S. Vol. XVIII*, No. 211, December, 1849, P. 543.
180. Hellen Barrett Montgomery. *Following the Sunrise—A Century of Baptist Missions 1813-1913*, opcit, PP. 135-36.
181. On Christian Missions in Orissa, C.C.O., N.S. Vol. X, No. 120, O.S. Vol. XVIII, No. 211, P. 540.
182. N.R. Pattnaik, Social History of 19th Century Orissa, PP. 49-50.
183. On Christian Missions in Orissa, C.C.O., N.S. Vol. X, No. 120, O.S. Vol. XVIII, No. 211, December, 1849, P. 555.
184. *A Statistical Accunt of Bengal—Districts of Puri and the Orissa Tributary States—W.W. Hunter, Vol. XIX*, P. 171.
185. Census of India, 1931 Vol. VII, Bihar and Orissa Part-I, P. 257. Report by W.G. Lacey, I.C.S., Superintendent of Census Operations, Bihar and Orissa.
186. *American Baptist New Missionary Station at Jellasore, C.C.O. Vol. I, No. VIII (NS) August, 1840*, P. 471.
187. B.M. Boal, *'The Konds' Human Sacrifice and Religious Change*, P. 78.
188. B.M. Boal, *The Church in the Kond Hills*, PP. 106-07. They had been economically ruined by indulging in expensive sacrifices and by mortgaging property to gain money to drink.
189. *Ibid.*
190. *Ibid.*, P. 107.
191. *Ibid.*
192. B.M. Boal, The Church in the Kond Hills, P. 108.
193. *Report of the Canadian Baptist Mission*, July 1, 1916—June 30, 1917, P. 73.
194. J. Peggs, *A History of the General Bapitst Mission, opcit*, P. 359. A Sutton, *Orissa and its Evangelization, opcit*, PP. 364-368.
195. A Sutton, *Orissa and its Evangelization, opcit*, P. 160.
196. *Ibid*, PP. 159-60.
197. *Ibid.*
198. *On Christian Mission in Orissa*, C.C.O., N.S. Vol. X, No. 120, O.S. Vol. XVIII, No. 211, December, 1849, P. 546. The Raja of Athgarh was one of the sixteen garhjat states who was exempted from the jurisdiction of the Hon. Company's regulations.
199. *Ibid.*, P. 546.
200. J.C.E.-Orissa Baphist Mission PP. 343-44.
201. K.M. Patva & Bandita Devi-An Advanced History of Orissa P. 78.

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202. J. Peggs, *A History of the General Bapitst Mission*, P. 372.
(a) *Ibid*, P. 363.
The three children of J. Peggs died in Orissa and were buried at Cuttack. Francis Smithee Peggs died on 17th August, 1822. Elizabeth smittee Peggs died on 28th July, 1824, Mary Smithee Peggs died on 14th May, 1825.
(b) J. Peggs, P. 204.
J. Peggs returned to England in 1826 because of his declining health.
(c) J.C.E., Orissa Baptist Mission, P. 98.
Rev, Bampton suffered from fever when he was stationed at Puri. His medical knowledge was to some advantage. Twice he had saved the life of the assistant native preacher Abraham.
(d) J. Peggs, P. 372.
Rev. Bampton worked in Puri from September, 1823 to December, 1830. He died of diarrhoea at Puri on 17th December, 1930.
(e) J.C.E., Orissa Baptist Mission, P. 373.
Cropper died due to fever. Sutton's wife and child died in Orissa. He had gone on a health furlough to U.S.A. and England with his second wife.
(f) Indian Missionary Director and Memorial volume by Rev. B.H. Baddiey, P. 106. J. Buckley had gone on a health furlough between 1853-55.
203. J. Das, *Sambalpur Zillare Christadharmara Ayarombh O Pragati*, PP. 5-6. The two children of Mr. and Mrs. Phillips died of malaria fever at Sambalpur. They were cremated at Sambalpur.
204. Rev. B.H. Badley, *Indian Missionary Directory and memorial Volume*, P. 168.
James C. Dow was stationed at Midnapore until early in 1847, when his health failed he returned to U.S.A. B. B. Smith stationed at Balasore went on a health furlough between 1862-67. R. Cooley-stationed at Balasore returned to U.S.A. in 1861 on account of ill health.
205. J.C.E. *Orissa Baptist Mission*, P. 98.
206. A Sutton, A Narrative of the Mission to Orissa, P. 322.
K. Majumdar, Baptist Missionaries in Orissa, 1822-58.
Indian History Congress, Proceedings of the 37th Session, Calicut, 1976, P. 327.
207. A. Sutton, *Orissa and its Evangelization*, P. 312.
208. J.C.E., *Orissa Baptist Mission*, PP. 447-48.
209. *Ibid.*,
210. *On Christian Mission in Orissa*, C.C.O., N.S. Vol. X, No. 120, O.S. Vol. XVIII, No. 211, December, 1849, P. 546. J. Singh, *The rise of christianity in Orissa and the lives of some leading Oriya converts*, PP. 58-60.
211. J. Singh, PP. 64-66.
212. J.C.E., *Orissa Baptist Mission*, P. 445.
213. *Ibid.*, PP. 446-47.
214. J. Singh, *The Rise of Christianity in Orissa and the lives of some leading Oriya converts*, P. 73.
215. J.C.E., Orissa Baptist Mission, PP. 446-47.

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J. Peggs, *A History of the General Baptist Mission, opict,* PP. 359-60.
216. J.C.E., *Orissa Baptist Mission,* P. 447.
217. *Missionary Herald No. IXXI, opcit,* P. 162.
218. *On Christian Missions in Orissa,* C.C.O. N. S. Vol. X, No. 120, O.S. Vol. XVIII, No. 211, December, 1849, P. 547.
219. C.C.O., N.S. Vol. II, No. 94, October, 1847, P. 558.
220. *On Christian Mission in Orissa,* C.C.O. *N.S. Vol. X, No. 120.O.S. Vol. XVIII, No. 211, December, 1849,* P. 547.
221. A. Sutton, *Orissa and its Evangelization,* P. 207.
222. *Ibid.*
223. *Ibid.*
224. J. Singh, *The Rise of Christianity in Orissa and the lives of some leading Oriya converts,* PP. 86-89.
225. A Sutton, *Orissa and its Evangelization,* P. 151.
226. *Ibid.*
227. J.C.E., *Orissa Baptist Mission,* P. 448.
228. K. Majumdar, *Baptist Missionaires in Orissa,* 1822-58, P. 329.
229. *On Christian Mission in Orissa,* C.C.O., N.S. Vol. X, No. 120, O.S. Vol. XVIII, No. 211, December, 1849, P. 547.
230. C.C.O., Vol. 14 No. 163 July, 1835, P. 310.
231. J. Peggs, *A History of the General Bapitst Mission,* P. 238.
232. *Baptismal convenant,* PP. 14, 16, 18
233. *Ibid.,* PP. 26-30.
234. *Baptismal Convenant,* PP. 30, 32.
235. A. Sutton, *Orissa and its Evangelization,* P. 277.
236. *Ibid.,* P. 361.
237. J. Peggs, *A History of the General Baptist Mission,* P. 87.
238. K. Majumdar, *Baptist Missionaries in Orissa,* P. 329.
239. *On Christian Missions in Orissa,* C.C.O., N.S. Vol. X 120, O.S. Vol. XVIII 211, December, 1849, P. 545.
240. *Ibid.*
241. J.B. Myers edited-*The Centenary volume of the Baptist Missionary Society* 1792-1892, P. 256.
242. D.S. Wells, One hundred and fiftieth anniversary of the B.M.S. in India, PP. 121-22.
P.K. Patra, Orissare Baptist Missionary Societyra Karya, PP. 166-68. Sutton was the first principal. Brajananda Das first native principal. Buckley—He named it Theological College, Jagu Roul, Ghanashyam Nayak, Shem Sahoo, Dati Patra, Niladri Nayak worked as teachers. D.M. Albaugh, *The Light in India's Hand,* P. 104.
243. D.S. Wells, *One hundred and fiftieth anniversary of the B.M.S. in India* (1792-1942), P. 122.
244. *Orissa State Gazetteer, Orissa State,* Vol. II edited by N.C. Behuria, P. 29.
245. A. Sutton, *Orissa and its Evangelization,* P. 97.
246. *Ibid.,* PP. 96-97. 1/10th is nearer to truth.
247. *Ibid.,* P. 97.

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248. K.M. Patra and B. Devi: *An Advanced History of Orissa*, P. 178.
249. *Orissa District Gazetteers, Dhenkanal* edited by N. Senapati and P. Tripathy, PP. 445-46.
250. K.M. Patra and B. Devi: *An Advanced History of Orissa*, P. 180, 183.

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V

MISSIONARY EDUCATION, PRINTING AND PUBLICATION

The activities of the missionaries in India was varied and one work supplemented the other. But evangelization was their main objective in India. "Where conversion was the objective opposition was expected and schools or medical services preceded the Church. The first and most important aim of education therefore, was to make conversion possible. It could be done only if the scriptures could be understood and preferably read."[1] S. M. Pathak in his book "American Missionaries and Hinduism" confirms this by stating - "If preaching of the gospel was necessary it was also necessary to spread education so that the Bible could be read and understood. Its translation and publication into Indian languages were also essential. As a result, the missionaries turned out not only to be preachers and translators, but also publishers and educators."[2]

Keeping evangelization in mind the Christian missionaries began educating the Indians and incidentally became the pioneers and promoters of modern Indian education.

Growth and Development of Missionary Education in India

Till the arrival of the first Jesuit Missionaries in Kerala in about 1542, Christianity had survived in India through the existence of Christian education. Though it lacked proper form but still it was available to the people through religious instruction and some elements of reading and writing.

The first formal Christian educational institution outside Europe was established in Goa, in 1540 when the great missionary Francis Xavier took over St Paul College for intellectual and spiritual training of young natives and their preparations for priesthood. [3]

The Danish Missionaries, active in Southern India were the first to establish schools for general education in the Madras Presidency. In

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Madras, Mr. Grundler had started two schools a little before 1717. One was a Portugese school in the White tower, the other a Malabar school in the black tower.[4] Zeigenbalg was the first Protestant Danish Missionary in India to begin this kind of school at Tranquebar in Southern India. In this respect the British East India Company had encouraged the Danes in India.

Therefore the Danish missionaries of later years gradually identified themselves with the English colonies in Southern India.[5] After the death of Zeigenbalg, another Danish missionary Kiernander by name was invited by the British Governor Robert Clive to start a Charity school in 1758, in Bengal.

A set pattern was followed with regard to the development of education in the British occupied territories in India. It was similar to the developments followed in the field of education in other parts of the British empire. The traders first arrived in India followed by the missionaries. The latter set up schools. When the company gained political supremacy the British officials arrived and gradually secularized the control of education. The timings varied but the denominational battles and the process of rescuing education from clerical control followed the pattern as it went on in England.[6]

Between the years 1600-1765, when the British East India Company was mainly engaged in commercial activities in India, the British traders, merchants and planters were "either neutral or hostile to the missionaries because they feared the political consequences of missionary education."[7] Yet it should be "borne in mind that the first efforts of the Company to diffuse education were prompted by a religious motive viz. the evangelization of Indians and the removal of apprehended trouble owing to the preponderance of Roman Catholics amongst the inhabitants of the places where they had settled".[8] Col Sleeman had established few schools at Jabalpur to rehabilitate children of the Thugs, Outram had put the Bhil children of Khandesh in schools and Macpherson had done the same to the rescued children of the Kond Hills.[9]

The Company's education in India started rather late. The missionaries remained pioneers in this field and that too without governmental assistance.

Though missionary work was allowed in 1698, in the renewal of the Company's Charter it did not suggest any educational efforts through missionary enterprise. In the three Presidencies charity schools were established by the Company only to educate the European and Anglo-Indian children. Therefore missionary education in India started as a private enterprise without governmental support. They estab-

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lished educational institutions of their own. Time and again the missionaries played a vital role in promoting education in India.

With the growth of political power, the Company's Directors evolved their own educational system. But it was gradually monopolised by the missionaries as is evident in Mr. N. N. Law's remarks - "In the seventeenth century we find the Directors taking the initiative in educational work, but with the arrival of the missionaries in the beginning of the eighteenth century, we find a change gradually setting in. They shifted their educational duties to the shoulders of the newcomers, though of course they did not stand aloof altogether. During the first three quarters of the eighteenth century, they gave assistance to the schools of various kinds in various ways, they ordered, for instance their. servants at Fort St David to act in the schools as accountants and occasionally repaired the school building. They did not however want to have a hand in the actual educational work, so that, upto 1787, all that was done outside Fort St George was done by the missionaries either in their capacity as such or as garrison or station chaplains.[10]

Due to political reasons the British Government in India had decided to follow a policy of religious neutrality. The Government feared reprisals from the Indians due to religious interference. This kind of lukewarm attitude towards missionary enterprise until the renewal of the Charter of 1813, could not give any definite shape to missionary education in India.

In the year 1792, on the occasion of the renewal of the Company's Charter, the Court of Proprietors in England opposed William Wilberforce's proposal to add to the Charter Act clauses allowing the Court of Directors of the Company to "nominate and send out from time to time a sufficient number of skilled and suitable persons who shall attain the aforesaid object by serving as schoolmasters, missionaries or otherwise."[11] They considered it would be madness to attempt the conversion of the Hindus or to "give them any more learning or any other description of learning than that which they already possessed."[12] Some of the British Parliamentarians like William Wilberforce, Charles Grant and Edmund Burke were advocates of evangelization of India. In their Parliamentary speeches on Indian question they fought for the cause of Indian education. The proposal of Grant and Wilberforce aiming to get "Christian Missions established in India caused a split among the directors prior to the 1813 Charter which, in fact, required the Company to allocate 100,000 rupees to education, literature and science."[13]

The ban on missionary enterprise was lifted with the renewal of the Company's Charter in 1813. When modern missions were estab-

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lished, schools followed and enhanced the educational status of British India.

The British Baptist Missionaries Messrs Carey, Marshman and Ward established the first missionary college at Serampore (in West Bengal) in 1814, and had obtained a Danish Charter for conferring degrees. Twelve years later Dr. Alexander Duff the missionary to India for the Free Church of Scotland established the Great General Assembly's College in Calcutta. The Madras Christian College was opened in 1837, and the Wilson School (afterwards College) was established by the missionaries in 1834.[14] In 1817, the American Missionaries had opened one of the earliest English schools in the Bombay Presidency. By 1832, there were thirty-two such schools with a total of 1,940 pupils.[15] Indian education made a good beginning with the help of these missionaries. Richter had remarked that "the quarter century (1830-57) was the age of the mission schools" in India.[16]

Missionary educators believed in English education. "Prior to the Anglicist Orientalist controversy (1813-35) which decided in favour of English Medium Schools, English Schools had been established by the missionaries."[17] Dr. Alexander Duff who was the spirit behind missionary education believed in western education which could easily neutralise the evils of Hinduism. He was supported in his views by the famous Indian social reformer Raja Ram Mohan Ray and his associates. Dr. Duff's missionaries in Calcutta provided a liberal education through English Medium. His ideas were largely accepted by other missionaries of different societies. Missionaries of the American Board introduced English education in the Bombay and Madras Presidencies.

At the government level it became a matter of debate. The Orientalists, the "supporters of the classical language maintained that the money granted under the 1813 charter had been intended to promote an interest in Oriental literature, language and science. They also worked to protect Oriental institutions of learning. Macaulay's famous Minutes of 1835, was one of several official recommendations in support of English. His arguments were that the classical languages, Arabic, Persian and Sanskrit were not widely used and that the vernacular were not well developed.[18] Since Macaulay was the President of the Committee of Public Instruction his views on Indian education were accepted. The Wood's Despatch of 1854, prepared for the Directors of the East India Company, laid down educational policy on purely western lines.[19]

Still missionary leaders did not believe in English as the medium.[20] For them vernacular education and elementary education for the mass

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was the basis of their educational policy.[21] In 1854 a delegation was deputed by the Prudential Committee of the American Board to India to find out how far English schools would satisfy the needs of the Mission.[22] The recommendation of the deputation did not favour the English Schools. It mentioned,

"The English language is made too great an extent the medium of communicating instruction. Past experience has seemed to show such schools are not the most efficient instruments in forwarding the great work of missions, that of making known the gospel to the heathen... The vernacular of any people is believed to be the most suitable language in which to communicate the truth... and affect the heart".[23] Rev R. G. Wilder did not welcome this decision and broughtforth his own argument in favour of English school. According to him "English schools have proved most effective in bringing the higher and better classes under the influence of the missionary and of the gospel."[24] The reaction against English schools was also evident in the educational policy of the American Baptists and Reformed Dutch Church of America. In their missions vernacular teaching through primary schools was followed and English schools were not opened. A deputation sent by the Baptist Foreign Missionary Union in 1854, recommended the same.[25] A conference on Missions held in 1860, at Liverpool in England also recommended that "vernacular schools should be increased in number and the efforts in the direction of English school should not be carried too far."[26] The missionaries therefore promoted vernacular education at the primary school level.

The Minutes of Macaulay (1835) and Woods Despatch (1854), the directives of the British Government regarding educational policies to be followed in India, no doubt wanted English education to be super-imposed on Indians. But they earnestly wished to avoid religious education to be a part of their curriculum. Macaulay himself wished to abstain and hoped others would, "from giving any public encouragement to those who are engaged in the work of converting the natives to Christianity.[27] Dr. Alexander Duff's suggestion to include Bible as a text book in Colleges was ignored in the Wood's Despatch.[28] In 1858, the Church Missionary Society had submitted a memorial to Queen Victoria demanding Bible to be "introduced into the system of education in all the government schools and colleges as the only standard of moral rectitude."[29] The Sepoy Mutiny of 1857* made the government more cautious and strengthened their views on secular

* **Religious cause was one of the important causes of the** outbreak of the **Sepoy Mutiny.**

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education. On the question of religious education the missionaries were supported by Indian religious groups such as the Brahmo Samaj, the Prarthana Samaj, the Arya Samaj and the Muslims.[30]

Lord Ripon had appointed the first Indian Education Commission in 1882, under the Chairmanship of Sir W. W. Hunter to enquire into the problems of Indian education and to satisfy the missionary demands. The recommendation of the Commission was in favour of secular education in government educational institutions. The Commission however allowed private schools the freedom to impart religious education. The government would pay grants-in-aid on the basis of secular education in India.[31] Under the Despatch of 1854, the mission schools were allowed to teach Christianity and received grants-in-aid from the government. By 1910, missionary educators received sympathy from the Government in terms of religious education.

It is observed that Macaulay's suggestion of an English education which would be predominantly secular was an "unhappy compromise, which often amounted to laissez faire, in the long run satisfied no one and the issue recurs again and again in debates on colonial policy in territories where a world religion other than Christianity exists."[32] This was perhaps done to avoid "cultural clashes which might lead to political troubles. Officially the need for schools which would train local people for posts in the administration was recognized. But the vital role education might play in peaceful evolution was perhaps not as clearly appreciated until it was too late for any policy to be effective."[33] This attitude on the part of the government with regard to Indian education failed to establish a stable system of educational institution.

However British laissez-faire policy for a long period placed responsibility on the hands of the missionaries to manage Indian education in the same way as it had allowed denominational control over English education. In the debates over colonial educational policy the missionaries participated.[34] The Company's attention was distracted by war and their efforts to consolidate their territorial gains. Education therefore was given low priority and missionary endeavour in this respect grew. By 1851, Protestant missionaries were running 91 Anglo-vernacular schools and colleges, 1,166 schools for boys and 371 schools for girls, teaching 64,000 students. The government had 1,474 educational institutions with 6,75,000 pupils.[35]

Missionary education received benefits as well as faced challenges due to the policies of the Company's government in India.

The Wood's Despatch of 1854 provided certain guidelines for the educational system in India. One was the prospect of government with-

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drawal from higher education, a field in which missionaries were already powerful and the other was a provision for governmental financial assistance in the form of grants-in- aid for which mission schools and colleges would be eligible.[36]

After the Sepoy Mutiny of 1857, the government emphasised upon secular education. This was a setback to missionary education. More so the government participated in higher education. The grants-in-aid system invited other Indian educational entrepreneurs. They dominated the lower reaches of education and threatened the missionary dominance of private higher education. Secular governmental schools also continued to grow. This kind of double threat encouraged the missionaries to agitate both in India and in Britain.[37] An enquiry into the working and progress of the Wood's Despatch of 1854, on the basis of the memorial given to the Secretary of State Harlington in 1881, by the "General Council of Education in India" became effective and the Hunter Commission was appointed in 1882.[38] The missionaries lost their battle when the Commission declared the government's intention of entrusting higher education not to the missionaries but to Indians.[39] Government withdrawal from primary education in favour of municipalities and local bodies under Ripon's local self-government scheme[40] showed that primary education slipped out of the hands of the missionaries.

The recommendations of the Hunter Commission encouraged the missionaries to renovate their policy. Instead of emphasizing on individual education they laid stress upon mass education. Missionary education, henceforth became prominent amongst the women, the backward section of the society, members of low caste in the villages and amongst the neglected hill tribes. Christian mass movement originated from this kind of mass education by the missionaries. In the Decennial Ministerial Conference at Allahabad in 1872, at Calcutta in 1882 and at Bombay in 1892, it was decided that school teaching is not missionary work.

Primary education was vernacular, was based on religious principles and was largely controlled by the missionaries. Higher education was secular, the medium was English and was managed mainly by the government.

Missionary Education in Orissa

During the pre-British period there was no specific policy for general education in the province. Lack of political stability had led to lawlessness. The ruling chiefs were engaged in internecine wars and in

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accumulating riches. In the process education was neglected.[41] The Marhatta rule in Orissa was "pre- eminently rapacious and selfish, cruel and unscrupulous."[42]

To extract revenue from the people by any means was their policy and therefore "the improvement of the country by facilities of inter-communication, the prosperity and contentment of the people, not to mention their education were subjects that never suggested themselves."[43] Due to this they had turned illiterate, suspicious of any motive and indifferent to any overture for education.

Peary Mohan Acharya in his "History of Orissa" had stated that during the Maratha rule Oriyas were not appointed in state service. They had not yet mastered the skill of writing in paper.[44] It was noticeable, when the British occupied Orissa in 1803, there was not a single Oriya working as a government employee. The language of the courts and public offices was Persian. In 1805, the government ordered all written communication with the natives of the province be done in Oriya as well as in Persian language. This order required the employment of Oriya muharirs. Since most of the Oriyas had no educational qualification and lacked experience they were not competent to handle the new English method of revenue accounts. Therefore Bengalis who had settled in Orissa and had become naturalised Oriyas acted as substitutes and monopolized these appointments. In 1821 the Magistrate reported - "Scarcely a single real Oriya receives a salary more than Rs.10 per mensen, but several are naturalised Bengalis or Mussalmans. I always give a preference to Oriyas, but at this moment I scarcely knew a single Oriya possessing qualifications to fit him for being a common muharir."[45]

In 1859, as reported, out of about 550 employees in the offices, Sudder and Mofussil, of the Magistrate, Collector and Salt Agents of the province after deducting 120 canungoes (these posts are hereditary) only 216 were Oriyas while 224 were Bengalis and the rest were Muslims.[46] In Pre-British days education was never a state concern. Being controlled by the Mughals, Afghans and Marhattas, Orissa had its own indigenous system of education. This was self-supporting and did not follow the Bengali educational system.[47] Indigenous institutions existed in the form of Sanskrit Tols and Pathsalas or village schools called chatsalis and maktabs.[48] This education was ordinarily some reading, writing and simple arithmetic. The Puri district had Sanskrit Tols, a few were in the town and maintained by the maths. In 1857-58 Dr. E. Rohr, the Inspector of South-West Division had mentioned about these native educational institution and proposed its improvement to educate the people.[49]

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In a caste ridden society where brahmins held sway education was virtually managed and controlled by them. The brahmin pandits were financed by the affluent zamindars and were obliged to teach their children. W. W. Hunter wrote about these schools - "Here and there indeed a pandit taught a few lads Sanskrit in a corner of some rich landlord's mansion, and the large villages had a sort of hedge school, where half a dozen boys squatted forming the alphabet in the dust and repeating the multiplication table in a parrot like sing-song. Anyone who could write a sentence or two on a palm leaf passed for a man of letters."[50] Fakir Mohan Senapati (born in 1843) mentions that there was one school in each big village and one school for two or three small villages. People who could afford engaged one 'Abadhan' or teacher exclusively for their children. In village schools children from the lower rank of the society sat at a distance from the children belonging to the higher society.[51] Indigenous education was confined to simple literacy and numeracy. It did not encourage the development of the rational faculties of the children.

Most of the village schools did not confirm to the standards prescribed by the education department. It was never inspected by the departmental authorities. The mode of teaching in these schools was primitive and confusing.[52]

For a long time the British government did not take any interest in improving the educational system in Orissa.[53]

The British East India Company being a commercial organization remained indifferent towards promoting education in the beginning. When the administrative machinery increased, their objectives underwent transformation. Then they formulated policies to educate the people.[54]

Modern education in Orissa, began after the Anglicist and Orientalist controversy. In the year 1838, the government opened a school at Puri, a Higher English School at Cuttack in 1841. In 1853, the Puri English School was closed and one was opened at Balasore.[55] In 1854, the famous Wood's Educational Despatch encouraged western education for the Indians. In 1872-73 the system of grants-in-aid to private schools or unaided schools encouraged vernacular and missionary education.[56] Early 19th century Orissa presented a caste-ridden society where brahmins were the dominant class. In order to perpetuate their supremacy in the schools they discouraged people to be educated. They were a great obstacle to the progress of education in Orissa. P. Mukherjee wrote - "Caste prejudice and conservatism stood on the way of progress of education."[57] Moreover schools were looked upon as infidel institutions. At Bhadrak "the people not only take no inter-

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est in the welfare of the school, but many of them, it is said, entertain most absurd notions of the intentious of Government, believing that the children, if allowed to attend school, will eventually be taken away from their parents and sent to England."[58] The failure of the Puri English school was due to this kind of conservative attitude of the people. The Headmaster of the school in his first report pointed out - " The inhabitants of the town, Chiefly consist of the priests of the temple of Jagannath to whom a knowledge of the Shaster is more important than the English language."[59]

Poverty was also a deterrent to the progress of education in Orissa. Most of the parents were unable to provide for their children's education. "The great number of retirements from the different schools is attributable to the inability of the parents and guardians of the seceders to pay the monthly schooling fee and the cost of the books requisite to enable them to prosecute their studies."[60]

The backwardness of education in Orissa during the first half century of the British rule has been summed by Sir W. W. Hunter. "Government" he wrote "not less than the missionaries, long found itself baffled by the obstinate orthodoxy of Orissa. Until 1838, no schools worthy of the name existed, except in the two or three little bright spots within the circle of missionary influence. Throughout the length and breadth of the province with its population of two-half million of souls, all was darkness and superstition."[61]

The early British Baptist missionaries played a vital role in educating the Oriyas.

The British Baptist Missionaries of Orissa remained pioneers in the field of education.[62]

"The missionaries," says W. W. Hunter, " have been the pioneers of popular education in Orissa, as indeed, everywhere throughout Bengal. Their labours date from 1822, and during this period they have not only made a small population of converts, but they have, by schools and printing presses, introduced a new literature into the district Capitals of Cuttack and Balasore."[63]

From the beginning the missionaries had considered it a legitimate duty to educate the natives. J. Peggs, the first Baptist missionary to Orissa wrote - "We hope to promote education as preparatory to the reception of the gospel."[64] Rev. A. Sutton another missionary since 1824, wrote in this context - "The promotion of education among the people is another legitimate branch of missionary benevolence."[65] They promoted both vernacular and English education. Around 1823, they established 15 elementary schools. The first Printing Press was established by them in 1838, and vernacular books were prepared by them.[66]

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Eminent missionaries like W. Bampton, J. Peggs, C. Lacey, A Sutton, J. Phillips, J. Stubbins, J. Buckley and their wives contributed immensely towards the introduction of Western education in Orissa.[67]

The main objective of missionary education in Orissa was to educate the Christians in order to enable them to be effective members of the Church. According to Rev. Sutton, "The aim of missionary education was both moral enlightenment and provision for economic security. The education had a vocational element in it, it was economically purposeful. Students read the Bible, learned a trade. There were farms attached to schools for students to work in."[68] Mission schools were also valuable, as preparing the infant native mind to read and hear the gospel with attention and less prejudice than their fathers; as a means of constant contact with chapels for the declaration of the Gospel.

Thus a native school frequently becomes like 'the School of Tyrannus, in which 'Paul disputed daily."[69] Therefore most of the missionary schools imparted elementary teaching where the students were taught to read and write in their own language. In some cases they were taught some accounts.[70]

Apart from the British Baptists in Orissa, the American Baptist Missionaries (active in Sambalpur, Balasore, Midnapore etc.)[71] and the Roman Catholic Missionaries (Cuttack and Balasore), the Spanish, German and Canadian Missionaries also established schools in missionary stations.

Missionary education was not strictly confined to the region of British occupied Orissa. Therefore, the Orissa Missionaries were also engaged in Ganjam which lay in the Madras Presidency and in Sambalpur which lay in the Central Provinces. They had taken the major Oriya speaking areas as their limit of operation without considering political boundaries. They also opened schools amongst the Kui speaking people of Southern Orissa and amongst the Santali speaking area of northern Orissa.

These missionary schools survived on charity until 1854. The Wood's Despatch of 1854, thereafter agreed to give financial assistance to these schools through governmental grants-in-aid. The Company's government took initiative as late as 1849, and opened Vernacular primary schools under its management.[72] When the government increased its schools the number of missionary schools started decreasing. Some were handed over to the government. In the second part of the 19th century, they had lesser number of schools in comparison to government and other private agencies.[73]

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Educational institutions run by the missionaries gradually found its establishment in Orissa in the form of Sunday Schools, Village Schools, Orphanages, English Charity Schools, M. E. Schools, Secondary Schools, Industrial Training Schools, Medical Schools, Normal Schools (for training teachers) and the Theological Academy. Female education was attended to by establishing a few girls school and some fundamentals of education were imparted through Zenana Associations. In the tribal regions schools were established where mostly tribal children were taught in tribal languages (Kui and Santali).

The missionaries of Orissa also aimed at organising activities to rejuvenate the youth.[74] and special work amongst the students were undertaken in the hostels in Cuttack and Balasore for this purpose.[75] Whatever might have been the real intention of the missionaries in educating the Oriyas it surely helped the people in becoming aware of the needs of reading and writing.

Village Schools - Missionary education began with the opening of village schools in and around Cuttack. Native children who attended these schools were taught in Oriya language. B. Holmes mentioned, that "Vernacular policy was particularly appropriate for the native or village mission schools. These schools were in many cases the backbone of missionary activity. Frequently they were similar to the indigenous school with the addition of religious instruction."[76]

The first such Oreah school was established by the missionaries at Cuttack on 1st June, 1822.[77] Rev. J. Peggs had registered the impression of a missionary on this occasion - "The schoolmaster preferred to this day to Monday, that day being considered an unlucky day."[78] Bible and other religious tracts were also used as texts for this kind of school.[79] From 1st of October, 1822 onwards the practice of having a monthly assembly of school children, at the missionaries' bungalow for examination and reward, started.[80] Later on, the missionaries personally visited and supervised these village schools. Lacey's journal dated 12th November, 1826 records - "We go to the schools ourselves and examine one or two each day as we may be able, we have found that this plan has many advantages over the old one, but principally as it allows us more time to instruct and examine the children. Two of the schools encourage us much, and I believe brother Sutton's has given encouragement."[81] These schools survived mostly on charity given by the mission and a few persons.[82] In August, 1823 a fund was formed to promote Native Schools.[83] At first these village schools were managed by heathen teachers and the superintendence of these schools was done entirely by the missionaries' wives.[84]

Within one year of the opening of these schools, especially between June 1822 to December 1823, fifteen Oreah schools were established.[85]

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out of which three schools were in Cuttack proper and the rest were two or three miles away from the town. The total number of students in these schools were 368 out of which 63 were girls.[86] In 1824, Rev. J. Peggs and Rev. C. Lacey visited places within a radius of fifty miles around Cuttack and established four village schools and entrusted them to the care of the Rajah of Buluntah and Gangeswar.[87] The next year (1825) Village Schools were established at Puri and in 1827, six such schools were there in Cuttack.[88] The native school at Bulbhudrapur was discontinued because of poor attendance while another one was opened at Chowliagunge with much hopes of success.[89]

In the Report of 1828, of the Orissa Baptist Mission the missionary at Cuttack had mentioned that Cuttack had seven schools consisting of 233 children.[90]

In the beginning the missionaries faced considerable difficulty in persuading the parents to send their children to school. A strong rumour was afloat that the children of these schools would be taken to Calcutta and made converts.[91] The last entry in Lacey's journal for the year 1826, gives reference to the fact that missionaries gradually discontinued these village schools, because they were unable to personally superintend them.[92]

As the number of native Christians increased and the converts settled in Christian villages, "native chapel, school house and all the regular means of righteousness"[93] followed in succession.

Accordingly Christian day schools were established at christian villages like Choga, Khundittar, Christianpore etc.[94] As per the General Report on Public Instruction for the year 1857-58 there were schools at Christianpore, Laceysahi, Choga, Khundittar and Pipli.[95] There was a school at Houghpatna (Jambu) and one at Mandapara (Macmillan Patna). The Orissa Irrigation Company had its buildings in Mandapara when the construction of a canal was in progress. After the canal was completed the Company sold the houses to the mission which was used as school and a chapel.[96]

A school house was established at Pipli for boys and girls in 1849.[97] Later on two separate buildings were constructed known as Bharaspur Boys School and Bharaspur Girls School and land for this purpose was obtained in 1868.[98] Apart from the schools there was a library for the pilgrims known as "Book Room." Rev. J. Vaughan wrote about this library in 1884, that "it is bright, cheerful room adorned with a few pictures and an illuminated text, and the verendah is wide enough to allow many persons to sit outside. We have two printed boards on the walls facing the street, containing a suitable text in large letters which can be seen by the passerby with ease. We hope to add another

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one or two in Hindee. We have books in several languages."[99]

Gradually this Book Room disappeared.

There were also lower primary schools at Banamalipur, Minchinpatna, Bahilipara and Khurda.

W. W. Hunter had stated that in Puri there were three lower class schools managed by the missionaries of Pipli, and attended by 110 boys and 156 girls. Two lower class schools were supported by the government attended by 38 students only at Padampur and Alaidihi. The missionary schools were the most efficient in Puri.[100] The Quinquennial Report, 1932-36 of the B.M.S. and the Associated Baptist Church Organisation mentioned that there were four mission schools in Puri district in the larger villages and the local Church Union took charge of them through an Education Committee.[101]

In the tribals areas and amongst the Konds the British Baptist Missionaries had opened the village schools.

In 1908, Mr. Millman started the first school under a tree at Mallikapuri and it was attended by men, women and children.[102]

A few government sponsored primary schools existed in the Kond Hills. The teachers were Hindus from the plains and taught in Oriya language. Since the spoken language of the tribals of the Kond Hills was kui there was little response. Millman's Kui—speaking schools were popular with the people and adults (men), boys and girls attended them.[103] In the mission schools for konds in the Balliguda division of the Ganjam Agency 'Kui' was the medium of oral instruction for lower standards.[104] By 1936, there were three more elementary schools (upto Class - IV) in this region which received government grants.[105] By 1942, the number of elementary schools were nine.[106]

There were two lower primary schools at Manihira and Pilatimohul in Bolangir sub-division which functioned under the guidance of missionaries.[107] In 1930, Bolangir had twenty elementary and village schools.[108]

In Berhampur the mission had a primary school in the beginning. Shri Ruben Mohanty, a native Christian was the headmaster of this Primary school.[109] Subsequently it was recognised as Upper Primary School as per the Memo Dis. No.90 Ganjam dated 16.2.1900 of the Inspector of Schools, Northern Circle.[110] Later on this school was merged with the middle school.

The American Baptists were fairly successful in educating the converts and natives of northern Orissa. According to Rev. B. H. Badley, in the year 1866, there were schools at all stations of the A.F.B.M.S. in Orissa which were mostly of primary school type. There were also seventy primary schools in the Santal Country.[111] By 1873, the Midnapore

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station had 49 Santali schools in which 897 Santali children were taught and out of which 62 were girls.[112] More and more village schools were established by the American Baptists for educating the Santali Children.

Traditional and superstitious belief of the Santals was a hindrance to education. The Santals fear of witches prevented the children of the villages from attending the schools[113] established by the missionaries. The Canadian Baptist Telugu Mission also worked for the education of the people. According to the Statistics, Colportage and Medical statistics for July 1914 - June 1915, in Parlakimedi they had three day schools and ten night schools, where 91 boys and 16 girls were enrolled. There were two male Indian teachers and two female teachers. In Rayagada there was one day school where five boys and forty girls were educated. There was one Indian male teacher and one Indian female teacher for this school.[114]

Due to missionary efforts the 'Cuttack English Charity School' was opened in August 1823, to give English education[115] to Europeans and the Anglo-Indian community.

In the beginning of the 19th century there were very few models for the English missionaries to choose in establishing schools in India. According to the Charter Bill of 1698, the East India Company had established charity schools in India which were the prototype of schools established in England. These schools were meant to educate European and Anglo-Indian children living in the Company's territories.[116] The aims of these Charity schools were rather simple. Children were taught to read, know and understand the catechisms; learn the principles and duties of Christian religion so that in future they could become loyal members of the Church and good samaritans of the society. The poor being educated in these schools would lead an industrious upright and self respecting life.[117]

As the name suggests the Cuttack English Charity School meant for Anglo-Indians and Europeans survived on Charity given by local Europeans. But native children were given an opportunity to study in this school.[118] Amongst the first twenty students who received education in this Charity school most of them were Eurasians and East Indians and only two of them were natives and that too Bengali. They were Nilamadhab Haldar and Ganganarayan Chatterjee.[119] The names of the first twenty students of this school were John, James, Charles, Charlotte Baptist, Henry, Evans, Kenny, William Mordick, Levy, Betsy Torrs, John, Lewis, Emmanuel, Xavier, Andrew Ransin, Maria, Miss Mary, Miss Derment, Nilamadhav Haldar and Ganga Narayan Chatterjee.[120] This institution was highly patronized by the civilians and military officers of the station and posted in different parts of

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the Province.[121] Attendance in this school, in the beginning was not satisfactory. The usual branches of English education such as reading, writing, arithmetic, grammar, geography and history were taught in addition to the teaching of Christian doctrine.

In the Annual Report of the Society for 1828, Rev. C. Lacey had mentioned about the satisfactory progress of this Charity School - "The English Charity School has this year continued under the care of the Missionary at Cuttack. The number of christian children is about as last year, the native children have increased. They have finished their education, two have retired to their homes, and one has obtained a situation as English writer in the Commissioner's office at Cuttack. All these have left the school with some good degree of religious knowledge, and have taken with them that word which is able to make them wise unto salvation. The prospects of the School are, however, not pleasing, for the income is a good deal below the expenditure, and the little fund in hand is nearly exhausted. We hope some friends will be raised upto support so useful and promising a cause but the prejudices which prevail over the minds of Europeans in India against everything connected with Missionaries has done our school much injury.[122]

Mr. Lacey had made arrangements for more subscription for the school. Rev. D. Garide agreed for thirty rupees per quarter, Dr. Brandee for ten rupees per quarter and Thos Garide Esq., Madras for twenty rupees per quarter. Hon. J. H. Harrington had donated one hundred and sixty rupees. The progress of the school was quite satisfactory. The Bengali students were very bright. The annual examination was attended by Thomas Pakenham, Esq; Acting Commissioner, Dr. Stiven, Civil Surgeon and by the Acting Secretary to the Commissioner.[123] Mr. Lacey had mentioned about their performance - "The boys exhibited some very neat specimens of their handwriting, also their account books, which gave great satisfaction both as to proficiency, correctness and neatness. They also were desired to work sums before the Commissioners, and although a good deal disconcerted before the above-named persons, they managed exceedingly well, particularly James Sunder."[124] The students pronunciation of English was defective but their overall performance was satisfactory.[125] In total "the examination gave great satisfaction and evinced a good deal of improvement."[126] The products of this school were given appointment in government jobs. One such boy Mr. Huree Chand Bose was appointed in the Commissioner's cutchery on the recommendation of Mr. Lacey to Mr. Pakennham, the Commissioner.[127]

This English school at Cuttack was financially supported partly by the grant of the Collector's cutchery, partly by voluntary subscription

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and partly by the Missionary Society. The school was run in a building erected for the purpose. This school had no caste barrier and was open to all. The children were taught in native language and English medium also.[128]

A boarding school with ten destitute children had been added to this school in 1829. These children were taught, fed, clothed and lodged entirely at the expenses of Charity.[129] Mrs. Pigou the wife of the judge Mr. Pigou clothed the children and subscribed liberally to the school. This institution became a Government school in 1841.[130]

The school suffered financial losses when the Bengal troops were withdrawn from the province. They used to contribute liberally for the maintenance of this school. They were replaced by the Madras troops who were less liberal in this matter. They also considered themselves to be temporary occupants and refused to associate themselves with the developments of this area.

Mr. Sutton wrote - "Still as there were two regiments, we managed by close economy to meet the expenses; but on the removal of one regiment to Midnapore, and some of our best friends in the other to England and distant parts of India, there was a sudden fall almost to nothing. While this process of pecuniary reduction was going on, conversion in connexion with the schools in different parts of India, so alarmed the wealthy native, that they chose to be at the expense of employing private teachers, rather than send their children to a mission school.[131]

More so there was pressure to shift the Government school from Puri to Cuttack. "This last determination turned the scale."[132] The first Government school was started in Puri. Then it was shifted to Cuttack and the English Charity School was merged with the first school at Cuttack in 1841. The English Charity School therefore laid the foundation of the First Government School in Cuttack.

The idea of a merger with the government school had enhanced the prospectus of proper financial care and a better education than the missionaries could do within their limited means. Abolition of the pilgrim tax also affected the functioning of this school, "for on its abolition, the funds from which five boarders had been supported were withheld to keep up the pilgrim hospital."[133] Under such circumstances the missionaries decided to makeover the school to the Government. On 23rd June, 1840 a meeting was held by the donors of the English Charity school and the decision to handover the school was conveyed to the Commissioner of Orissa, A. J. M. Mills. The latter sent a letter in this connection on 30th June, 1840 to the Secretary, Education Committee.[134] As a result the English Charity School run by the

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missionaries came under the direct control of the government from February, 1841. In the first four years after it came under the control of government the strength of this school was 86,71,81 and 120 respectively.[135]

When the Catholic Mission at Cuttack opened a boarding (Convent School in 1880) for Anglo-Indian Boys and girls the Protestants of Cuttack felt the necessity of opening a school for their children. The same year they opened a school with the help of the Baptist Mission, and named it Protestant European School.[136]

Except for the missionaries Dr. William Day Stewart[137] the Civil Surgeon of Cuttack was the guiding spirit of the institution. He had constructed the school building and a boarding house for students. The building was a palatial structure erected by Dr. Stewart on the Mission Land at a cost of 60,000 rupees and was transferred to the Mission. The Protestant European School was later on renamed as Stewart School after its founder Dr. William Day Stewart. Only European and Anglo - Indian Children were permitted to study in the School. Indian children were refused admission into the School.[138] This rule was relaxed and precedent created when children of Indian Christians gained admission in the Years 1891 and 1893.[139] Gradually a Protestant Girl's School on nonsectarian principles was opened as a section of the Protestant European School. A headmistress was incharge of this section and was an able and efficient teacher.[140]

In the year 1924, the school was confirmed as Junior Secondary School and the Cambridge Syndicate opened a centre for Cambridge Examination in the School. Two years later the school was raised to the status of a High School. It was classified as a secondary school. A college was opened known as Stewart Science College on 1st July, 1944. The School and College functioned as an integral unit[141] until 1946.

Therefore this humble institution which started off as an orphanage and educational institution for a handful of Eurasians and Anglo - Indians turned out to be a resourceful centre for secondary and higher education.

Secondary Education in Orissa was a combination of Middle School and High School education.

The missionaries had two sets of middle schools, the Middle English School or M. E. with English as a compulsory subject and Middle Vernacular schools where English was not compulsory. M. E. Schools provided a four years course after the lower primary stage. The high schools that followed the M. E. Schools were also a four years course after middle school education. The medium of instruction in high schools

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in the non-language subjects was English. B. Holmes had stated- "Secondary Schools were undoubtedly fashioned after the image of the English public schools. Many of them were boarding.

XXX The curriculum was typically English - classical languages, maths, some science, geography, history and English.[142] Some of these schools were co-educational. In some stages a few girls school were also established by the missionaries.

The missionaries made efforts to establish institutions for the purpose of secondary education. The government also had its own contribution towards this end.

Even then, the progress of secondary education was not satisfactory. By 1905, there were only 12 High Schools with 2,598 pupils and 84 Middle Schools with 4,728 pupils.[143] In 1845, a Middle School for boys known as the Anglo - Vernacular School was opened at Cuttack. The founder father and principal of this school was Dasarathi Rout. Both Christian and non- Christian boys studied in this school. Later on this school was named as the Baptist General School. It was closed in the year 1900.[144] There was also a boys Middle school in Berhampur. A Hindu from Berhampur town, educated in the Vishakhapatnam Mission school wished to have a school in his home town. He approached the resident missionary Thomas Bailey for this purpose. When the latter did not show much interest the former started the school in Berhampur. A native rich gentleman donated eight hundred rupees for the purpose. Bible was taught in this school. Though managed by the Hindus it was also run by the Mission until 1923. Then it was decided that the local Christian Community and the B.M.S. should give annual grants to the school. The Church of India Mission also agreed to give an annual grant.[145] This school which gave education to Christian and non-Christian students was later on known as the United Mission School.[146] In Sambalpur there were no technical schools and no special schools for backward races with the exception of a small school maintained by the Baptist Mission.[147] In Western Orissa the first MiddleVernacular School was established at Bolangir where the children of untouchables were allowed to be educated. Until then the untouchables were not allowed to get a place in the schools.[148] In Balasore there were ten Middle Class Vernacular Schools out of which six were aided, three were supported by the government and was unaided and entirely supported by the Roman Catholic Missionary, father Sapart.[149] Rev. B. H. Badley had referred to a highgrade vernacular school at Balasore and Chandbally.[150] The number of Middle English Schools in Balasore gradually increased. The Baptist Mission School was established at Balasore which was a Middle Vernacular School.[151]

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Rev. B. B. Smith, the Missionary had been a member of Balasore Committee for General Education.[152] The students of the Balasore Mission School did well in the examinations for Vernacular Scholarship.

In the Vernacular Scholarship the result published in the Education Gazettee in the South West Section, one Gadadhar Ghosh of Balasore St. Joseph School, Parsuram Das and Mahesh Chandra of the same school and others like Karunakar Saha, Solomon Nayak, Madan Mohan Das, Joseph Maharana and Bamdev Prasad Das of the Balasore Mission School were successful.[153]

The missionary amongst the Konds established a middle school in G. Udayagiri with a boarding hostel for boys.[154] In 1942, there came up a higher elementary school in this field. Forty per cent teachers of the government schools of the Kond Hills were no longer recruited from the plains but were hills-men and practically all of them were products of the mission schools.[155]

In the Sundergarh District according to the Report of 1926, there were 130 mission schools, a large number of which received government's financial support.[156]

A few boarding schools were also established by the missionaries. Some had an industrial unit attached to it.

The first boarding school was opened by the British Baptists at Cuttack in 1829 with twelve East Indian boys and girls.[157] The Roman Catholics also had a boarding school at Balasore from 1869 to 1903.[158] In 1919, Mr. Jarry and Mr. Fellows started a central boarding school in Bolangir for boys and girls. This school conducted programmes such as Scout and Cub packs for the boys and Life Brigade and Cadet Sections for the girls. The Christian Workers in the local district council were all the boys from this school.[159] It is clear, in the four important mission stations in Orissa, i.e. Jellasore, Balasore, Cuttack and Berhampur there were boarding schools for both sexes. A plain education in vernacular was given and religious and moral training was the chief curriculum of these schools. The intelligent ones were taught Bengali and some of the best Oriya books were provided to them. All branches of Bible instruction such as scripture, history, parables etc. were taught. The students had to memorise hymns, passages from scripture, catechisms and even poetical tracts.[160]

The American Baptists who established a station at Balasore is reported to have a boarding school in their mission premises. In the beginning, there were 30 children out of which 20 were girls and 10 were boys and were being taught by a native Christian. Out of these, eight students were good in Oriya gospels, geography, history, arithmetic etc. Mr. Noyes, the American Missionary used to spend one or two

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hours with them daily. The girls were taught to cook, clean their houses and spin. Mrs. Noyes used to teach them to sew and the girls spent about three to four hours a day in her company.[161] In Jellasore also the A.F.W.B.M.S. had a native boarding school and according to the Indian Report of 1841, the progress was quite satisfactory.[162]

Between the years 1937-42 vocational classes were attached to some of the mission schools. The Mission M. E. School at Nowrangpur (Koraput) had weaving, tailoring and carpentry classes.[163] In the Report on the progress of Education in Bihar and Orissa for the years 1920-21, the Inspectress had stated that the Mission Middle Vernacular Schools at Cuttack and Balasore had various forms of Industrial work included in them.[164]

Education in the Mission schools were a queer mixture of moral training, vocational education and general teaching.

The missionaries had opened the English Charity school and Stewart School at Cuttack for the purpose of giving secondary education to Anglo-Indian and Eurasian children. They also supported the efforts of the native Christians in establishing high schools at Cuttack and Balasore.

The local Christians of Cuttack had appealed to the Home Committee of the Baptist Mission with a proposal for a High School. The missionaries of Orissa had recommended this appeal. As a result a High School for native christians and others was established at Cuttack in 1882.[165] The school began with five students and by 1943, it had risen to 400.[166]

In 1924, the Mission handed over the school to the management of the local Christian Community. This was the first school where co-education system was introduced.[167] The running of the school was financially burdensome for the Baptist Missionary Society. Therefore when Millman was its headmaster the B.M.S. had decided to reduce the status of the school from a High School to a Middle English School. The Christian Shikshya Samiti which later became the Christian Education board took over the management of the school. At present the school is functioning under the name of Christ Collegiate school.[168]

A High School was also established at Balasore in 1891. The actual opening was delayed due to the sudden death of the missionary, Mr. Boyer. When Mr. Hamlen arrived in 1894, the school started functioning in reality.[169] The Bengal District Gazetteer (Balasore 1907) had also mentioned about the Mission High School at Balasore.[170] Practical subjects such as commerce, carpentry, cycle repairing, toymaking, spinning etc. were introduced in this school.

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The workshop in the school designed septic tanks to be used in middle class Indian families. They also designed the sewerage disposal system for the Baptist Mission Hospital at Berhampur.[171]

The Nava Jeevan High School in Balangir was managed by the missionaries.[172]

Due to lack of resources, the missionaries were less successful in handling secondary education as they had been at the elementary school level.

Vocational education had a firm place in missionary education in Orissa. Technical and vocational institutions were run by the British and American Baptists in places like Balasore, Santipur, Bolangir and Berhampur.

The emphasis in British Indian education was largely on literature, Industrial, commercial or agricultural schools did not develop due to various reasons. In the first place manual labour was despised more in the colonies than in England. Another fact was that during the 19th Century most colonial economies was not designed to absorb many well trained skilled workers. Some efforts were therefore made to introduce elements of the English 'schools for industry.'[173]

The Indian Education system aimed at training students to become politicians, bureaucrats or literary figures. No such practical training was given to them to be self-sufficient and economically independent persons. In the words of D. M. Albaugh - "before India's independence the British administration took a primary interest in the development of a university system for the training of civil servants and professional leaders.[174] But the missionaries partly supported by government grants were the pioneers in rural education. Agricultural and vocational training was added to their educational efforts in Southern India and Bengal-Orissa.[175] The missionaries wished to teach "dignity of labour, virtues of self-reliance and self-help to their students. Therefore, character building through work was also one of the aims of industrial education. They were aware that manual labour was looked down upon by educated Indians. Therefore, they wanted to impress upon their students that Christianity blessed and ennobled every type of honest work."[176]

The Balasore Industrial School also known as Balasore Technical School was managed by the American Baptist Missionaries of Orissa.[177] This school was established in 1900, with the object of giving technical training to boys living in the Balasore orphanage. The school received regular grants from the Government and the District Board since 1906.[178] This school was organized on a commercial basis and every article made here was sold. As a result of the demand for trained boys, the

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departments were developed. Carpentry was the most important section, but ironfitting, motor car driving, repair work, cane—work and electrical work was taught to students with efficiency.[179]

This school ranked second amongst the technical institutions of the province being next to the Orissa School of Engineering[180] and "one of the finest institutions for industrial and commercial training on any American Baptist field."[181] This school supplied skilled technical workers not only to the Baptists in Bengal- Orissa, but also to other missions in Bihar and East Pakistan. The National Christian Council was impressed with the output and offered substantial scholarship to worthy applicants.[182] In March, 1873 amongst the students of this school, there were six carpenters, five blacksmiths, four weavers, five tailors, five washermen, ten gardeners and four house servants.[183] Between the years 1912-17, the average number of students on the roll were eightyseven.[184] The number of students on the rolls on 31st March 1947, was fortynine. Out of these, nineteen students passed the final technical diploma examination and were awarded certificates.

Twelve artisan certificates were also awarded to twelve students who had cleared the final examination of the artisan course.[185]

During the years 1927-32, the technical school had much improved the practical and theoritical work. Small tubewells were dug and windmills were established at low cost. The school was the "most successful in the province of Bihar and Orissa—bridging the great gap between the costliness of the modern method and general poverty of the people."[186] It was also approved as an institute for the training of war technicians. Students in batches of twelve were to be trained there under the Central Government Scheme.[187] The Report on the Progress of Education in Orissa for the year 1943-44, mentioned that this school continued to train war technicians till the close of the financial year when the Government of India decided to close the Centre. Fifteen trainees had passed the trade tests (one blacksmith, ten carpenters, four fitters) of whom two joined the Army, six went to the Civil Pioneer Force and seven were discharged.[188]

An Industrial Training School for boys was opened in 1904, at Berhampur by the missionary Mr Jarry. Carpentry, weaving and other handwork items were taught. Much good work was done and the boys learned to be self-supporting. But by 1926, the number of students decreased and the remaining few were sent to the Balasore Technical School. The Berhampur Industrial School was finally closed.[189] A Weaving School at Bolangir was established by the Mission since 1920. The school provided opportunities to the boys to learn all kinds of weaving, as that was one of the main trades of the community. During

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the years 1940-42, the profits from sales enabled the students to pay their hostel expenses and to save a substantial amount to allow them to buy looms and cotton after the training ends.[190]

The Shelter School at Cuttack was managed by the "Church of God American Missionary Society." It was classed as an Industrial School,[191] and used to take unprotected minor girls upto ten years of age under their care and trained them in basketmaking, weaving, spinning, sewing and embroidery work.[192] The school received government aid and in the year 1936-37, out of the total expenditure of Rs.3,806 the government aid was Rs.1,440. The number of students were 20.[193] In the year 1938-39 six non—Christian girls who had joined the Shelter Industrial School with stipends for training in basket weaving were given stipends for an extended period of six months to be trained in cutting and sewing.[194] A girls' vocational school was established at G. Udayagiri with hostel facilities. Here Kond girls were trained to be self-supporting. Apart from Bible teaching and some school subjects they were taught drawn thread work, knitting and needle work.[195] In 1906, a technical school under missionary management was opened at Santipur. The students were taught sewing, carpentry, cane-work, gardening and weaving with the help of ordinary and fly shuttle looms. The school did good work for the Santal aboriginals of the locality.[196]

People who could not get a chance to be educated got the benefit from Night Schools opened by the missionaries. These schools were opened where the people wished to learn and where workers volunteered to teach them. At one time there were 26 such schools in Bolangir with over 300 students. The teachers were old hostel boys who settled in their own villages. In every school, slates, books, lanterns and oil were provided free of cost.[197] As reported by the Orissa District Gazetteers for Bolangir it is evident that adult education was initiated in 1838, and 20 adult literacy centres were operating in different parts of the district.[198] Due to poverty people moving away in search of work as well as natural inertia had shut down some of the schools, and reduced to less than a dozen schools. But much good work had been done.[199]

In the Kond Hills the British Baptist missionary Mr. Millman had established a successful Night School for adults.[200] By 1936, the B. M. S. had two Adult Training Centres.[201] The female missionary Miss L. Kuai had contributed towards adult literacy in the Sambalpur district. She used to tour the villages and teach the adults about the benefits of being literate. She also taught in many of the adult literacy centres of the district.[202]

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Normal Schools - The Christian mission in Orissa took measures to train teachers for village or primary schools. The training was mainly directed towards religious education.

The American Baptists had opened a school at Santipur known as the Santipur Normal School. The government provided aid to this missionary school.[203] This school was a training centre to prepare students as teachers for the Santal village schools in the outlying jungles of Mayurbhanj.[204] The Santipur School was established in 1868, and was managed by the American Baptist Missionary Rev. J. Phillips. In the report of the Mission for the year 1872-73 it is stated there were 80 students in this school. The average attendance was 58. They were either Santals or Oriyas and were trained in Santali, Oriya and Bengali language.[205] The missionary efforts to educate Santal girls at this Normal school achieved limited success. The girls after leaving school made very little effort to utilise their education and remained as they were before.[206] In 1893, the Baptist Missionaries of Cuttack had also opened a normal school. Two years later (1895) out of five students three discontinued and two passed and were sent to teach in the village schools.[207]

A Santal Training School was also established by the American Missionaries at Bhimpore.[208]

Medical Schools were also run by the missionaries which imparted technical knowledge about surgery and medicine.

A Medical class was established at Balasore.[209] The Missionary at Balasore, Mr Bachelor was a medical man. Therefore he had opened a hospital and a school where he trained students in medicine and surgery.[210] This medical class had students from different parts of the province and "were pursuing a course of study sufficiently thorough," to enable them 'to practice medicine and surgery with success, according to European principles."[211] When there were no medical books a lecture was delivered daily and students used to write it in their notes for future reference.[212] Mr. Bachelor had also written the "Medical Guide" in Oriya in 1848, and the other in Bengali in 1852.[213] which were of immense help to these students.

One of the students of this class worked in the hospital at Jellasore.[214] Many years later in 1876, a medical school was opened at Cuttack due to the efforts of Dr. Stewart, the Civil Surgeon of Cuttack and T. E. Ravenshaw, the then Commissioner of Orissa.[215]

As a part of the scheme of Technical instruction the government opened a Survey school at Cuttack in 1876. This institution was associated with the technical education of nearly one hundred famine orphans under the care of the missionaries of Orissa. These boys were

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trained as carpenters at a workshop at Jobra. There were suggestions for attaching a survey school to this workshop. Rev. W. Miller, the Baptist Missionary, S. Ager and others were consulted before the Survey School was opened.[216]

Educating the Tribals - This work was done by the missionaries of various denominations. The Roman Catholic Missionary Organisations and the Baptist Organisations took measures in spreading western culture and western education among the tribals by converting them to Christianity. Primary Schools, Middle English Schools and Higher English Schools were established by the missionary organisations. It seems, the Christian missionaries started their education work in the area in 1914, when the first Middle English School was established by them at G. Udayagiri. In the Baligurha Sub-Division the Hubback High English School was first set up at Tikabali in 1939, but was later shifted to G. Udayagiri in 1941.[217]

In the Baligurha Sub-division British education spread in the last part of the 19th Century.[218]

In 1837,the government of Bengal instructed the Commissioner and Superintendent of Tributary Mahals, Cuttack to educate the tribals of Orissa. They had no indigenous education system of their own, nor script of their own. The government decided to teach the tribals in their own language in Oriya character. The government thus complimented the educational efforts already made by the missionaries among the tribals.[219]

Female Education in Orissa - Throughout the 19th Century, the concept of female education was regarded as outside the state system of education. Indeed till 1813, the East India Co., "Did not recognize the promotion of education among the natives of India as part of its duty or concern."[220] Women's education was left to the care of the individuals and private enterprises. In the minutes of 25th March, 1822 of the Select Committee of the House of Commons on the affairs of the East India Co., it is recorded by Buchanan relating to Women's education in certain parts of Bengal, that "Women are totally out of the question. My enquiries on that subject, were generally answered in the negative, generally produced a smile of contempt."[221] The need for women's education was only gradually being felt in England, and their attitude was "the sex which was marked out by nature to be a domestic ornament in England might safely be left to the same function in India."[222]

A. Sutton had noticed about the status of the Indian Women in general - "And deeply is women depraved in China and in India. In both cases they are kept in entire ignorance of even the elements of

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such learning as is commonly taught the other sex in both these populous countries. It is only in a few cases that women is ever taught there. Not a school, I believe, exists for the tuition of the females, apart from missionary establishment, throughout either land. A few Zamindars and rajas are known to teach their wives to write and keep accounts, because they must in some cases thus guard their own interests, and a few abandoned females are taught to read and sing the abominable songs about the Hindoo gods in prosecution of their hateful trade. But none are taught with a view to the cultivation of their minds or the elevation of their moral characters. The Hindoos believe the effect of learning to woman must be just the reverse.[223]

The women in the elitist society led a comfortable life of pomp and pleasure and remained a specimen of show piece.[224]

In the beginning of the 19th century Indian reformers like Raja Ram Mohan Ray, the Brahmo Samajists, Swami Vivekananda, Pandit Iswar Chandra Vidyasagar, the Parsees in the West Coast and Europeans like William Bentinck & Hardinge wanted a change in the status of Indian women through education. Christian missionaries also firmly believed in female education.[225]

Christian missionaries pioneered the cause of female education in India in the early part of the 19th century. The first educational institution for girls in India was started in 1818, by Mr. Forsyth of the London Missionary Society in Chinsura (the Dutch Settlement in Bengal). Another pioneering effort was made by the Calcutta Female Juvenile Society founded by Hannah Marshman in 1819. The first girls school in the Bombay Presidency was opened in 1824, by the American Missionaries.[226]

Female education in Orissa - O' Malley has correctly observed that "female education in the first half of the nineteenth century was the child of no one but the Missionaries."[227] Female education therefore made a beginning in Orissa under the guidance and supervision of the Baptist Missionaries. They laid emphasis on Christian - religious education.[228] The government had ignored to evolve a definite policy towards female education.[229] When the missionaries became successful in educating the daughters of Christian converts and destitutes they decided to educate the non-Christian girls.[230] There were some changes after the Woods' Despatch of 1854.

In the beginning of Baptist missionary enterprise in Orissa few native schools for girls were established. The girls made progress in reading but to the missionaries dismay, these girls were found to be "either real or adopted children of prostitutes, or such as had been purchased by them, and were being trained up for a life of abomination. Their

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object in attending the schools, was that they might be able to read the abominable songs with which the country abounds."[231] The missionaries therefore decided to discontinue some of these schools.[232] Thereafter, girls' schools of the primary and middle school standard were established by the missionaries and the government. The missionaries encouraged the girls to attend the primary schools for boys which benefited the cause of female education in Orissa.

Some of the Rajas of Orissa also appreciated missionary efforts in spreading female education. They admitted that the degradation of the Indian women was a social evil. The Raja of Nilgiri allowed the American Baptists to establish a mission and the Raja of Athgarh allowed a mission school to be established in his state.[233] The wives of the missionaries worked amongst the Oriya girls and Oriya women to educate them. Mrs. Bampton, Mrs. Sutton, Mrs. D. F. Smith acted as female missionaries and were the "most zealous fellow labourers in the foreign field."[234] They rendered good service in the superintendence of native schools and in tutoring East Indian girls. The Society for the Promotion of the Female Education in the East sent ladies to run schools, female orphanages and to assist in spreading female education.

This Society was established in 1834, to promote education based upon the Holyscriptures among Eastern Females of all class either in their homes or in missionary schools. Trained European teachers were therefore sent by this Society to serve the purpose.[235]

Inspite of the efforts of the Baptist missionaries, the Roman Catholics and other societies the progress of female education in Orissa was relatively slow. The Joint Inspector stated in 1874 -"If by female education we mean a little reading and writing, there are more educated women in Orissa than perhaps in any other part of Bengal, but if it means good and sound learning then it must be confessed very little has yet been done, and for some years to come little more is likely to be done in this respect."[236] People were conservative and caste feelings were running high. According to the Joint Inspector they did not object to give education to their daughters but they disliked sending them to schools which was a public place and where they had to mix with girls of all castes.[237] He added that "while in the pathshalas carried on in the indigenous method, we often have a few girls writing the alphabet in little pieces of palm leaf, or with small pieces of chalk upon the ground, we do not find a single Oriya, Hindu or Mahammedan girl of a respectable family in any of our middle or higher class schools."[238]

Due to this kind of conservative outlook of the Oriyas coupled with lack of required government aid the progress of female education by

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1905, was upto middle vernacular standard.[239] Most of the girls in schools were Bengalis and the number of Oriyas were few.[240]

The female orphanages at Cuttack and Jellaswar and in other places provided some kind of education to the girls. The Buckley Girls' High School and the Sanat Nalini Girls' High Schools, the two premier girls schools of Cuttack had their humble beginning as girls orphanage established by the missionaries. The Buckley Girls' High School of Cuttack began as female orphanage or a boarding school in 1836.[241] Oriya girls were also encouraged to join day schools run by the Christian Missionary.[242]

Since there was no arrangement for the education of the East Indian girls Rev. Sutton and his wife opened a school for them and personally managed till 1855. Thereafter it was managed by the mission. When the Catholics opened a Convent School in 1881, the Anglo Indian boys and girls preferred to be educated in this school.[243] It was a primary school and the girls were given plain education to which knitting, sewing, spinning was added "to render them sensible, modest, industrious and pious young women, fitted to be helpmates to their husbands in their humble sphere."[244] In 1936, this school was raised to the status of a Middle English School. Later on it became a High School.[245]

This mission girls school received help from the 'Society for Promoting Female Education in the East.' Miss Derry (later Mrs. Backley), Miss Guignard, Miss Packer, Miss Leigh were sent by this Society to work in this school in connection with the Baptist Mission.[246] Girl Guide became a part of education in this school.

In 1908, a training school for female teachers was attached to this school.[247] This school gave the students training to become Junior and Senior school teachers whereas the Government training school at Cuttack gave training for junior teachers.[248] Out of the three training institutions where women teachers were trained in Oriya two were under the direct control of the government and third one which was under missionary management (Baptist) received substantial aid from the government. Candidates with very low qualifications were admitted to the training classes. The number of candidates who have passed the middle school standard was few.[249]

Sanat Nalini Girls' High School - Another centre for female education was the Sanat Nalini Girls' High School in Cuttack. It stood for a definite ideal - "not merely to impart book learning, but to provide opportunities for character building, for social service, and above all, growth in the grace and the knowledge of the Lord."[250] This school had its origin in the Shelter Orphanage established at Cuttack in September, 1914

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by the Church of God Mission of America to give protection to unprotected minor girls. Later on a school of two classes - infant class and class - I was opened with 20 students which was the beginning of Shelter School.[251]

The records show that by 1928, the school was raised to the Middle Vernacular status and received aid from the government. In 1945 it was recognised as a middle school government recognition, for the High School was obtained in 1954, and the same year first batch of Matric students were sent up for the University Examination.[252] Selfless, female workers contributed immensely towards the making of this small primary school with 20 children into a full fledged High School for girls. They were Miss E. Faith Stewart, Miss Sanat Mundal, Miss Nalini Mundal, Miss Burd Barwick, Miss Eva Goodurn, Miss Josephine McCrie, Miss Mona Moors, Miss Ellen High etc.[253]

Miss E. Faith worked hard to receive government grants for the primary school and to give it a Middle Vernacular status. The school was named Sanat Nalini after the names of Sanat Mundal and Nalini Mundal. The Pipli Girls' School was established in 1862. Only Christian girls received their education in needle work and other crafts, as well as secular and religious instruction. It did not receive any governmental aid.[254]

Female education in Balasore was indebted to lady missionaries like Mrs. Phillips, Mrs. Smith, Mrs. Bachelor etc.

A boarding school for native girls was opened at Balasore in 1841, under Bachelor's patronage.[255] In 1870-71 there were four schools in Balasore, out of which two were under missionary control.[256] Out of these two missionary schools one was the Balasore Convent Girl's School and the other one was a School attached to the Jellaswar female orphanage which made satisfactory progress.[257] The intelligent native gentlemen of this area gradually became more interested in female education.[258]

At Balasore there was a Mission Girl's School run by the American Baptists and only Christian girls read because the Hindus were unwilling to send their girls for fear of losing their caste.[259] In 1886, this school became a Middle Vernacular School and in 1889, Basanta Kumari Rout was the first girl to pass the Middle vernacular Examination. On 1st August, 1920 this school was recognised as Middle English school.[260] The Second Quinquennial Review of the progress of Education in Bihar and Orissa, 1st April, 1917 to 31st March, 1922 mentions that the mission school for girls at Balasore had become Middle English School and the Baptist Mission School at Hatigarh in the Balasore district had been reduced to the upper primary status.[261] The first matriculation class was opened in 1932[262] and it became a high school for girls. The other

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Government Girls High Schools were Ravenshaw Girls High School and the Berhampur Girls High School.

According to the Report of the Progress of Education in Orissa for the year 1936-37 there were two middle English schools for girls at Cuttack and Balasore respectively. Both these schools were managed by the Mission Societies aided by the Government.[263] The Report on the progress of Education in Orissa for the year 1937-38 states that the number of high schools for girls had increased by one. The new school is the Baptist Mission Girls High School at Balasore.[264]

The Report of the Progress of Education in Orissa for the year 1940-41 stated there was one high School, three Middle schools, ten primary and two special schools for the Indian girls in the province run by the Missionaries.[265] In 1871, a missionary girls school started at Jellaswar by the American Missionary, Miss Crawford.[266]

Female education was not very popular amongst the Konds and the Santals of Orissa.

The labour of the missionary in respect of female education in the Santipur Normal School was not satisfactory. W. W. Hunter states - "Of five girls who have passed through the school and obtained certificates only one continues to teach. Intemperance, poverty, gross superstition, indifference, and even a contempt for learning have still to be encountered in our efforts to promote education."[267] He has also added that the Santal girls after leaving school "fall back to a level with the mass of Santal women, and appear to make little or no effort to utilize their knowledge."[268]

The people of the Kond Hills were very slow to accept the benefits of female education, "seeing them rather as persons who early leave the family through marriage and until then are best employed in the necessary domestic tasks."[269]

Though the tribal women enjoyed much more freedom than their Hindu counterparts they were part of a kind of civilization which did not encourage them to accept the finer values of modern civilization.

Zenana Education : Zenana means a portion of the household in India where women live in seclusion. Mrs. Marianne Lewis' Pamphlet gives clarity to the word 'Zenana.' In her words, "In every respectable Hindoo house a range of apartments is found set apart for the occupation of women. This is called the Zenana from the persian word 'Zen,' woman. To this part of the house no man has access except the fathers, husbands and sons of the family; and from it no female member of the family beyond the age of childhood is allowed to pass unguarded. The apartments of the Zenana are usually dreary, ill-lighted, ill ventilated and miserably furnished rooms—these poor women enjoy

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little of their husband's society, they do not even sit or eat with them and having received no education, useful or elegant art of needlework, or other pleasant occupation to beguile the weariness of their lot - they are shut up to utter indolence."[270]

Her appeal was considered in a meeting held in John Street Baptist, Bedford, Row, London on 22nd May, 1867 and a decision was taken to form an association with the Baptist Missionary Society to encourage female missionaries in the East to take up Zenana work. This association was known as 'Ladies' Association for the support of Zenana work and Bible women in India. Thirty years later it was baptized as "Baptist Zenana Mission."[271] Anglo—Indians and Indian women and widows of missionaries were able to offer their service for this work.

In Orissa the wives of the missionaries visited the ladies in the Zenanas in order to give them religious instruction, some elementary teaching, ideas about minimum hygienic habits and some knowledge of sewing and lacework. Some of them were medical missionaries who taught them healthy habits and how to adopt preventive measures against certain common diseases. They laid stress upon personal cleanliness, child care and handwork. Christianity was taught to them through simple stories from the Bible. They were taught to sing hymns and other songs. Through these female philantropists they received the kind of education to live a civilized and modern life.[272]

The American Baptists undertook Zenana work at Balasore. Zenana work was first started by Mrs Smith in 1869, for educating the married girls at Balasore. One hundred and twenty six women were taught in their Zenanas by Mrs. Smith and her assistants.[273] At first there was opposition and only six families allowed the Zenana workers inside their house during 1869-70. But gradually this kind of opposition passed away. By 1872, Mrs. Smith and her co-workers had visited fifty families. She had also sent a native lady christian to Bhadrak to serve as a Zenana teacher and was paid by the gentlemen of the families she visited.[274] By March 1874-75 out of a total number of 967 girls under instruction, 111 were under the Zenana instruction. The Balasore Zenana did useful and good work for the promotion of female education.[275] In the year 1881, six teachers of the Balasore Zenana Association also worked in the ten girls school of Balasore district. After Mrs Smith, Mrs Phillips took interest in Zenana work.[276]

Zenana education in Orissa between 1922-27 was carried on by peripatetic teachers and by central gathering classes. The latter was intended for Mohammedans but had been extended for the benefit of Hindus also. The number of teachers during these five years had fallen from 27 to 24, of students from 461 to 455. The decrease was

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due to a reduction from 14 to 11 in the number of teachers employed by the Baptist Mission at Balasore.[277] According to the Report of the progress of Education in Orissa for the year 1936-37 the American Baptist society at Balasore maintained six zenana teachers and received a grant of six hundred rupees during the year for working in the zenanas. One hundred and five females were under Zenana instruction.[278] In the year 1937-38 the Balasore Zenana schools continued to receive the usual grant of Rs.600. The staff was reduced from six teachers in the previous year to three due to the decrease in the number of pupils from 105 to 66 females.[279] By 1938-39 there were five centres for Zenana work at Balasore under the supervision of the missionary society.[280]

In Cuttack there was a Zenana school for adult women managed by the female missionaries deputed by the Society for Promoting Female Education in the East in collaboration with the B.M.S. Mission at Cuttack. They were Miss Packer, Miss Barras, Miss Vanghan etc.[281] They were later assisted by Miss Miller and Miss Hill.

These ladies visited the Christian villages and managed to enter the houses inspite of the prevalent orthodoxy. On one occasion Miss Barras and Miss Miller toured the country in the month of January, 1888 and halted at Kendrapara to attend a large festival.[282] During the year 1938-39, the Zenana School for adult women at Cuttack had 18 pupils under a peripatetic teacher.[283]

The government also recognised the utility of Zenana work and appointed a few Zenana teachers. Other Zenana missionaries Miss Julia Phillips and Mrs. Mary R. Phillips were successful in educating the females in the Zenanas at Midnapore since 1866. A Babu at Midnapore desired to teach his wife the act of embroidered slippers and allowed the missionary ladies to enter his house to teach this art. He reluctantly consented to religious teaching which would follow the learning of this art. Consequently others showed interest in learning the art of embroidered slippers and Zenana work began in Muslim houses.[284] With immense patience the zenana workers tried to maintain rapport with females living in the Zenanas. When the missionaries encouraged the Oriya women to get involved in industrial work their task became smoother and easier. There were a few setbacks in the field of Zenana work. Mrs. Burkholder had mentioned - "The pupils are constantly changing. The little wives are sent away to their husband's homes and we lose sight of them. Those who are in their husband's homes are frequently sick from unsanitary conditions or child-birth. An epidemic of cholera and smallpox may break out and the Zenana be closed to visitation for a number of weeks. And then there are the

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endless number of Moslem and Hindu festivals that hinder progress. But if one door closes another opens and we go steadily on with our work."[285]

The missionary bodies were praised for their contribution to Zenana work. They were helpful in breaking down the purdah system and in uprooting the prejudices detrimental to the progress of female education.[286]

Zenana evangelism was designed to spread Christian ideals and enlightenment among women who observed purdah strictly.

English Sunday School - The history of missionary education begins with the establishment of the English Sunday School. The first group of missionaries like Rev. James Peggs and Rev. William Bampton arrived in Orissa in February, 1822.

One month after their arrival, in March 1822, they started a Sunday School at Cuttack for the local European and East Indian children. The World's first Sunday School was established in 1770. Fifty two years later this kind of school started in Orissa.[287] The missionary James Peggs refers to a narration in a journal of that period in his book 'A History of the General Baptist Mission.'

"In the next month, reference is made to the commencement of an English Sunday School, after morning service. A few days afterwards it is stated - "In the evening we went with Mr. Baptist, a writer, to look at a spot for a Native School."[288]

Sunday Schools were established with a view to training the youth in following the Bible. By teaching Bible to the young it was thought they could provide a coming generation of Christian teachers. Considering that in India there were 80,000,00 boys and girls under twelve years of age who received no scriptural training and considering nearly 3,000,000 in Orissa the necessity of Bible school accommodation was undisputed.[289]

In the beginning the Sunday Schools were meant for European and East-Indian children. In later years Sunday Schools were established in different areas for non Christian children.

The Oriya Sunday School was established at Cuttack, in 1874, by Anam Chandra Das. Children from different boarding schools and from different Christian villages joined this school. The school began with 80 students. After 10 years it increased to 320 students. In the year 1943 there were 400 students, 22 sections and 42 teacher.[290]

Anam Babu the founder of the Oriya Sunday School was also its superintendent for 28 years. The other superintendents who succeeded him were Rev. Jagananda Singh, Sudhakar Patra, Rev. Brajananda Das, Raibahadur Samuel Das, Dr. Benjamin Pradhan, Rev. J. K. Mohanty

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and others.[291] Rev. William Ortan visited this Oriya Sunday School on 28th November, 1886 and were satisfied with its progress. There were 200 children and a good staff of teachers.[292]

The Teachers Training Department at Buckley House, Cuttack combined with its courses a definite training in Sunday School work as prescribed by the All India Sunday School Union. The Orissa Sunday Schools were bound together in an Utkal Sunday School Union which determined the curriculum for each year, printed notes in Oriya and conducted the yearly examination. In 1942, there were about 75 Sunday Schools affiliated to this Union most of which belonged to or were associated with the B. M. S. in Orissa.[293]

There was a Sunday School at Chhagam in the Cuttack district. In the year 1885, the School had 37 Girls and 40 boys.[294] After the establishment of Orphanages in Ganjam and Berhampur Rev. Wilkinson and Rev. Stubbins had started Sunday Schools for orphans in 1840 and 1854 respectively.[295]

In 1870, Daniel Mohanty organised a Sunday School for the children of the Christian villages and the Berhampur Orphanage. He was the superintendent of this Sunday School. After him Mr. Ananchandra Patra managed this school for roughly 25 years.[296]

The Pipli Sunday School was one amongst the oldest Sunday Schools in Orissa. In 1842, a Sunday school was established at Pipli, along with an orphanage. Prasanna Kumar Mohanty was in charge of this Sunday School for forty long years and worked hard for its upliftment.[297] In 1895, the first Sunday School at Sambalpur was founded by Rev. P. E. Heverlet and Rev. Wilkinson. Abraham Prusti and Adam Sahu were the teachers of this school. They were followed by two female teachers Mrs. Chandranani Das and Mrs. Paluni Behera. From 1895-1922 Rev. Charles Pati was appointed as the superintendent of this Sunday School. He was followed by Rev. P. Horseborough and Rev. Daniel Das as superintendents of this school. Mr. Cornelius Das was the first Oriya Principal of this school. In 1898, this school was included as a member of the Utkal Sunday School Union.[298]

The progress of the Bolangir Sunday school was quite satisfactory. There were four departments, primary, general, women and men's Bible classes. During the years 1932-35, there were 17 teachers and 276 students. 115 more Sunday schools had started and annual examination for these village Sunday schools was organised.[299]

In the Kond Hills, there were six Sunday Schools for children and two Bible classes for the grown up people during the year 1933. Several children had also sat for the Sunday school examinations held during the year. Though Oriya was a second language they were suc-

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cessful and some were awarded prizes by the Orissa Sunday School Union.[300]

Even then the Sunday School in this region did not function upto satisfaction. Mrs. Barbara M. Boal in her book 'The Church in the Kond Hills' writes about the condition of the Sunday Schools in 1963 - "More perhaps than any other part of the Kui Church, the Sunday Schools are crying out their need for greater attention and carefully planned help. In very few villages they are strong and reasonably well-staffed; in many more a handful of children pursue their course; and in yet more villages, Sunday Schools have died or never lived. In recent years one of the fully trained pastor has worked with enthusiasm to improve Sunday Schools in the G. Udayagiri area, but even there the constant difficulty has been lack of volunteer teachers. For so long, Sunday school teaching has been accepted as the responsibility of day school teachers, and if such are not available, there has been no expectancy of a good school. If the matter were taken with due seriousness by the whole church, ways would be found to train and help both teachers and scholars. Until that time, Sunday Schools will continue to limp far behind other parts of the church's life."[301]

The American Baptist Missionaries organised the Sunday Schools in all their stations at Balasore. Mrs. Phillips and Mrs. Bachelor the wives of the missionaries taught in these schools.

The Canadian Baptists also had Sunday Schools. In Parlakhemedi there were four Sunday and evangelistic schools with an average attendance of 82 students and seven teachers. Rayagadda had two Sunday Schools with three teachers and the average attendance was 40.[302]

On 20th December, 1898, the Orissa Sunday School Union was formed at Berhampur. Rev. A. H. Young of B.M.S. was its first President and the famous American Baptist Missionary Rev. G. H. Hamlen was chosen its first secretary. They were in charge of the Sunday School examination. In 1908, this Sunday School Union was reorganised and the conference and elections were held annually.[303]

In the beginning the students in the Sunday Schools in Orissa were made conversant with religious facts and certain portions of the Bible. From 1886, onwards the curriculum was based on the type of International Sunday School standards. The examination of the Oriya Sunday School was done according to the regulations of the Indian Sunday School Union. Though the Orissa Sunday School Union was a part of the Indian Sunday School Union later on it set up its own curriculum and conducted its own examination.[304]

Examinations were conducted by the Sunday Schools with regularity and prizes were given on behalf of sponsors as an incentive to

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encourage the students. Some of these prizes were known as Padmavati Memorial Prize, Shanti Tatia, Ujjal Tatia, Atman Tatia, Malati Memorial Prize etc.[305]

Orphanages - With the opening of educational institutions the missionaries felt the necessity of establishing orphanages. These institutions were considered to be effective means for instruction and conversion of the youth.

Missionaries established orphanages for destitute boys and girls. It marked the beginning of organized social work in India.[306] Rev. A. Sutton wrote "We come now to a little oasis in the desert of Hinduism, a little verdant spot in the moral wastes of Orissa - the establishment of our asylums for native children.[307] Introduction of this orphan asylums also included female education which was a neglected subject for quite some time in the field of education.

About the origin of these asylums Rev. A. Sutton briefs us - "Let me briefly notice the origin of our asylums. Those who have attended to the history of our mission will remember that a number of day schools were established at its very commencement. They were, however, taught by heathen masters, for no other could be got; and too often, when our back was turned, heathen books were substituted for those we introduced. And at all times an idolatrous influence was successfully exerted at home in counteracting what little of Christianity was taught at school. These schools, therefore, were continued so long only as we could no better. We could not be satisfied to send the children of our Christian converts to them, and thus playback again as it were into the hands of Satan. But we concluded that while attending to such schools, we were much more bound to give our native converts children the best education in our power.[308]

Native converts were few and scattered in distant villages. In order to bring them together in a suitable boarding establishments, boarding schools were founded by the missionaries. Sutton mentions "Being encouraged by a few friends on the sport, we determined therefore to establish an asylum for both boys and girls, in which we could collect and educate, entirely under Christian influence, not only the few children of our native converts, but all of a suitable age whom we could get entirely under our control."[309]

In the orphanages the boys learnt besides the three R's, agriculture, weaving, carpentry, machining etc. while the girls learnt to read and write, sew, spin, knit and housekeeping.[310]

In 1829, the first boarding school was established at Cuttack. Mrs. Lacey mentions that in 1829, they took 12 East Indian children and the rest were orphans. It was financed by Judge H. Minchen Pigou,

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his wife and by others. Mr. Pigou's annual donation amounted to Rs.240.[311]

Sources of recruitment was not entirely based on native converts. A much larger number was also supplied from other sources. "The origin of many of these lambs of Christ is very singular. Some have been found on the Puri sands, or at the road side, the deserted children of pilgrims to Jagannath, others are orphans brought in time of famine; others are the children of native Christian; but a very large number of them are 'Merias' once destined among the Khonds to a bloody sacrifice, but saved by the efforts of Government from their power."[312]

The famine condition of Orissa in the years between 1836-38 made considerable addition to the boarding schools. The results of the famine in Orissa has been compared with the disastrous effects of the failure of the potato crops in Ireland. Parents sold their children for a paltry sum or abandoned them to die. Rev Sutton wrote about the famine stricken children - "We purchased several of these children, or rather gave their parents a trifle and engaged to keep their furnishing little ones. Several other children were picked up near hospitals and places where food was distributed, and a few, of their own accord presented themselves at our doors and begged to be taken in. Of these poor children many were too far exhausted to recover, some, when the famine had passed away, fled from the asylum and returned to their vagrant life, and others remained to the salvation, we trust of both body and soul."[313]

These famine children were given religious and vocational training in the boarding schools and their condition improved. Since this famine, the boarding schools or asylums were renamed as orphanages. Leaving aside the Cuttack orphanage; similar types were established at Berhampur in 1840, in Ganjam in 1841 and in Pipli in 1842.[314] Another bout of famine in 1865, created a worse situation than before and an estimated 10,000,00 persons died.[315]

The government organised relief depots for famine victims, without much success. On the recommendation of the Divisional Commissioner the government sanctioned the orphan children a monthly help at the rate of one rupee each and asked the missionaries to take their charge.[316] Unable to feed their children, parents sold or left them to their fate. "The terrible famine of 1865-66" wrote John Clifford added 1,500 children to the care of the missionaries.[317]

W. W. Hunter mentioned about the famine victims of 1865-66, "the Native Christian number 1,712 souls including 658 children rescued from the famine of 1865-66. As a rule they are despised by the Hin-

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dus and Musalmans and indeed generally they came from lower caste. The mission door stood open day and night, and the officials contributed a weekly crop of famished children, when picked up at the relief depots scattered throughout the District. Six years of good food and training have made these strays and waifs of the famine one of the most interesting sights which I have seen in India."[318]

Destitute children from the Puri and Cuttack pilgrim hospitals also comprised the asylums. Sutton mentions - "Many hapless children are annually left to perish at the great car festival of Jugernath, or on the road to that high place of idolatry. Their parents or friends are struck down perhaps by the cholera or some other direful disease, and the children are left unprovided for. Doubtless, in many cases, they are intentionally left behind by their wretched parents. Some of these children find their way to the large hospital or asylums at Pooree, and thus come under the notice of the doctor. If he be a benevolent man, he may befriend these and send them to our asylums. Such was Dr. Cumberland, at Pooree and Mr. Minto at Cuttack. These gentlemen have sent several children to our schools and contributed generously for their support."[319]

The age old practice of Meriah Pooja on Khund sacrifice prevalent in the Kondh hills also filled the asylums. Those rescued from this inhuman practice because of governmental intervention were to undergo resettlement in the asylums.

Rev A. Sutton published an account in the Friend of India in 1841- "Within the last three years nearly 800 victims have been rescued by Government agents from this atrocious sacrifice, many of whom have been placed in our mission schools at Cuttack, Berhampore and Balasore."[320]

Even John Clifford adds to this issue - "Jesus Christ is the deliverer of the oppressed. He sets at liberty then that are appointed unto death. xxx And before the efforts of government to suppress these cruel practices were crowned with success not less than 1700 victims were rescued, and at least 250 of them had the advantage of our schools."[321] In order to avoid being detected in future by their people they were given a common surname 'Singh.'[322] By an act of 1845, the Government attempted to suppress this inhuman practice.

There were children, especially girls who were rescued from the clutches of age old practice. There were numerous evils that surrounded the young girls of Orissa. The practice of "dedicating a daughter to the gods" (devadasi system) that is giving her to the temple for prostitution under the name of religion, the child marriage, the plight of child widow, who were debarred from remarrying and led a vegeta-

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ble existence, was common. More so they were slave procurers who picked up starving girls and infants from the famine field and sold them to brothels for a paltry sum. Christian missionaries assisted by their Indian helpers endeavoured to put these unfortunated ones in shelters to prepare them for a useful life.[323] These children received "the first Christian education in Orissa."[324]

Growth and Development of the Orphanages - Orphanages found its beginning with the establishment of a boarding school at Cuttack in February, 1829. Another school was started in May 1836, to give shelter to Meriah victims.[325] Sutton wrote - "Our school was opened, May 3, 1836, with six boys and three girls, but since that period more than 100 of each sex have, for a longer or shorter period, found an asylum under our care. All our Schools have lately had a considerable increase."[326]

The Cuttack male orphanage[327] and the Cuttack female orphanage were established in the year 1836.[328]

When the Cuttack boarding school was insufficient more orphanages were opened at Berhampur in 1840, in Ganjam in 1841, and at Pipli in 1842. The Berhampur orphanage was started for the famine victims and those recovered from the Meriah sacrifice.[329]

At each of the four stations in Orissa, viz. Jellasore, Balasore, Cuttack and Berhampore, boarding schools for both girls and boys were established. They received plain education in the vernacular. The more promising ones were taught Bengali and Oriya. Religious and moral training is the chief feature in the schools; and special attention was paid to all the branches of Bible instruction, such as scripture History, the doctrines and parables.[330]

About the children of the Cuttack male and female orphanages J. Peggs, the missionary gives more details - "Some have completed the system of education their kind friends could afford them, and are now entering on the active duties of life. One that belonged to Mr. Sutton's senior class is now the native preacher at Balasore; one is employed by Mr. S in its study as a copyist; six are in the printing office, preparing," it is remarked, "to use the mighty press in enlightening their country;" Four of girls have been married to native Christians. Several received in a state of extreme exhaustion or disease, have died, and thirty males and thirty six females, still remain in the different asylums. Within two years eleven of the native pupils and five from the English department, including the master and his wife, have been baptized and of course united to the church. To this may be added, three or four more baptized by Mr. Stubbins. From the different schools at Cuttack three have been baptized during the year, viz. Ghunu Shyam,

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a son of Doitaree, the native preacher from the English school department, Khumba from the boys asylum and Moola from the girls'. "Two candidates, Boishnub a former pupil in the boys department, and Dooke, now in the girls have long applied for baptism."[331]

The Report of 1844, has been produced by J. Peggs - "The Cuttack asylums maintain their importance as benevolent institutions, eminently adopted to benefit the rising generation. The whole number of scholars during the year has been fifty boys and forty seven girls. Many of the earlier scholars have become men and women. The girls especially, it is observed, go off fast to take charge of their own homes, and so quickly rolls on human life in India, that many who were pupils in the asylum a few years, ago; are now heads of families and their children are springing up in rapidly increasing numbers. More from the female Asylums have been baptized during the years. Indeed most of the elder scholars are members of the church. From the male Asylum five youths have professed Christ in baptism. Seven of the eldest are employed in the printing and binding offices, and three others are learning other employments. One interesting youth has finished his short course. He was a candidate for baptism, and died the very evening on which he was accepted for Christian Communion.332 About the Girls' Asylum Mrs. Sutton states, "The number of scholars reported as having attended in whole or in part during last year 1843-44 was of boys fifty and of girls forty seven. This year the record gives boys sixty, and girls forty six making a total of one hundred and six. Several however it will be seen were for a very short time in the school."[333]

The children in the Cuttack asylums were taught to understand the Bible, hymn book and other books which were in circulation - such as Bunyan's Pilgrim Progress, a part of Doddridges Rise and Progress and Baxter's call, three volumes of tracts, outliners of General and Church History, Elements of Geography and Astronomy. To this were added writing and ciphering. Promising students amongst them were sent to Normal schools to be trained as school-masters and catechists. Some of the baptized youths were admitted to the theological department run by the missionaries. Girls were given 'plain education' such as is mentioned for the first school of boys to which 'Knitting sewing and spinning' was added. Training was given to make them sensible, modest, industrious and pious young women, as well as able housewives. Therefore, European ornamental education was substituted for this practical education.[334]

Christian villages were also established to enable these orphans who were tutored and trained in the asylums to live a healthy adult life.

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In 1867, J. Macmillan purchased a piece of land worth 200 acres and donated it to the mission. It was known as Macmillan Patna (Mandapara), situated towards the north of Cuttack on the banks of the Mahanadi. In 1863, 13 famine victims (boys) were sent to this village to learn farming. The next year seven joined. Mana Pradhan and Ganda Das were the two deputed to this village to teach them the art of farming. A school was also started to give them primary education. This was the first village to accommodate the orphans in Cuttack.[335]

The other orphanages at Cuttack - During the famine of 1860, Orphanages at Pipli, Cuttack and Berhampur were saturated. The strength of the Cuttack asylum was 782 out of which 353 were boys and 429 were girls. Two separate asylums were opened for girls. The first was opened at Buckley house and the second was in Mission High School compound. The asylum for boys was at first behind the open space of the "press house." Then it was shifted to Peyton street and finally it was again shifted to the present Christ Collegiate school premises on Mission Road. Rev. Miller was in charge of the boys' orphanage at Cuttack whereas the girls's orphanage was run by Rev. Buckley. Residential building, schools, hospital workshops for vocational training were constructed for the children of the orphanages.[336]

When the children attained adulthood they settled in peasant settlements with exemplary conduct, and "most gradually exerted an influence on the general population.[337]

The Shelter Orphanage at Cuttack - The Shelter Orphanage at Cuttack began to function from 1st September, 1914. Miss E. Faith Stewart from America and Miss Sanat Mundal from Bengal (Indian Christians) started this shelter orphanage for unprotected minor girls in Cuttack, who otherwise would have landed in brothels.[338]

The origin of Shelter Orphanage has a peculiar beginning. In 1905, J. A. D. Khan had come from Bengal to Cuttack to start his evangelical work. He met a Brahmo gentleman, Shri Kherode Chandra Rai Chaudhuri who insisted upon a home for unprotected minor girls in the state. No such institutions had been set up in which children could be rescued from their immoral environment and placed in such surroundings conducive to healthy mental and moral growth. On his second visit to America in 1908, he met Miss E. Faith Stewart, an ardent Christian worker engaged in the rescue and resettlement of wayward girls in United States. He discussed with her the possibility of opening of institutions in Orissa in similar lines. Khan's sister-in-law, Miss Sanat Mundal was also eager to work in this institution. With the help of these two ladies the Shelter Orphanage was opened in a one sto-

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reyed house which originally belonged to Utkal Gaurab Sri Madhusudan Das and later was bought from him by Mr. Samuel Das and at present is his residence.[339]

It was on 13th January, 1915, this Home as this institution was known, was called "Shelter" in its first meeting of the Board of Directors. Government grant and Mission aid from the Church of God in America was obtained for the construction of the building in 1918, for this Orphanage. The foundation was laid by the Commissioner, Mr. Gruning on 19th March, 1918.[340]

The Primary school started for the Shelter girls later gained recognition as High School. This High School was known as Sanat Nalini Girls High School and the first batch of matric students were sent for the University Examination in 1954.[341]

Miss E. Faith Stewart, Miss Sanat Mundal, Miss Nalini Mundal, Miss Burd Barwick, Miss Eva Goodwin, Miss Josephine Mc Crie, Miss Monia Moors, Miss Ellen High, Miss Mohini Singh and Miss Senica Pradhan were associated with the Shelter Orphanage. Sashimukhi Das and Ratani Das were students who were chosen for scholarships.[342] Various kinds of industrial work, such as weaving cloth, making raffia baskets and mats, silk-worm culture, sewing of various kind etc. were taught in the orphanages. During the war years the older girls who made up the industrial class to such an extent that the industrial department had to be discontinued as a separate work. The industrial building became classrooms for general education. In 1948, the Governor of Orissa opened a thread spinning centre in Shelter Orphanage. The work was regularly inspected by teachers from the Cuttack Thread-Spinners Association. Since it was a private enterprise no government grant was given.[343]

A few years after the establishment of the Cuttack Orphanages, Mr. Stubbins shifted to Berhampore and established another to settle children rescued from Mariah sacrifice. Later on under Mr. & Mrs. Stubbins, Mr. & Mrs. Wilkinson and Mr. & Mrs. Buckley they were gradually formed into separate boys and girls division.[344]

American missionaries had established similar schools in the north of Balasore and Jellasore. Sutton mentions, "In the latter a number of Santal children have been received which it is hoped will open the way for the entrance of the gospel into a new tract of country, among a hitherto unnoticed tribe of mountaineers. It is pleasing thus to observe the dawn of a new day gilding the mount air tops of long long benighted Orissa."[345]

An Orphanage at Balasore - An orphanage was established for boys at Balasore. Hunter's Orissa mentions about the Orphanages run by

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the American Free Will Baptists346 "one at Santipur near Jellaswar, the other a purely agricultural hamlet at Metrapur in Nilgiri."[347]

The missionaries Mrs. Phillips and Mrs. Bachelor were in charge of the children of the Metrapur Mission School. Between the years 1850 - 1882, Miss Crawford joined this asylum and took care of the girls in directing them to sew and do other work. In 1861, she went to America leaving the girls with Mrs. D. F. Smith. On her return she moved to the Orphanage at Jellasore.[348]

Sinclair Orphanage - There was an orphanage for girls at Jellasore.[349] During Mrs. Smith's term, in 1886, the girls' Orphanage at Jellasore was shifted to Balasore and was named "The Sinclair Orphanage."[350]

The Jellaswar orphanage was managed by Miss Crawford of the A.F.B.M. This school had 43 pupils and there existed good fellow feelings between the Santal children and the other students of this orphanage. The ex-students of this school had established seven or eight village schools in which girls and boys were taught.[351]

Education in the orphanages was both general and vocational. For this kind of work it depended on different sources for its survival.

Grants-in-aid by the government was a source of sustenance for the orphanage. Charity was another important source for running these institutions."These schools have been liberally supported" says Mr. Sutton referring to the appeal he had made for financial assistance in July, 1844.[352]

To some extent it displayed the liberal spirit of Christianity in India because these donations were voluntary and was mostly from strangers. Though busy with the Afghan war they had the inherent Christian goodness of doing good to others.

The work done in orphanages was compassionate as well as useful to missionaries. The children trained in these Orphanages were not only saved from starvation and degradation but were moulded into useful citizens and Christian workers.[353] Conversion to Christianity was a major objective of the missionaries in rearing up destitute children in the asylums. A. Sutton admits - "To wean these young converts from idolatry and teach them up for God is of course, our grand object. Upwards of fifty souls, we trust, have been born again, and admitted to the church by baptism from our asylums at Cuttack; while of several others, who have not thus been added to the church, though we can give no statistical account, we yet cherish a good hope."[354]

The Conference on Missions held at Liverpool in 1860, commented on the usefulness of the orphanage work which was evangelic.

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"In some countries, especially in India where caste is so powerful, orphan and boarding schools, in which young people have been brought up...have been found greatly useful in the conversion of their scholars, and in securing well-instructed native agents for the service of the mission."[355]

Rev. J. Mullens mentions "that the schools have been productive of great spiritual blessings to the young educated in them. Many, both of the girls and boys, have become truly pious and have maintained a consistent profession; some of the latter have entered the ministry, others have been settled as farmers in the Christian villages, or been employed in the Press. Many trials have been borne in connection with their teachings but the encouragements which the Lord has given to his servants have also been great."[356]

The missionaries and their wives rendered yeomen's service to the asylums to train them in Christianity and to make them noble men and women. A Sutton, C. Lacey, J. Buckley, Rev. Miller, J. Stubbins, Hills, Wilkinson, John Goadby and their wives, Miss Packer, Miss Leigh, Miss Thompson, Miss Crawford, Miss Wigner, Mrs. Bachelor, Mrs. D. F. Smith, Miss Stewart etc. were notable amongst them. So generous was Mrs. Goadby she even breastfed the orphans to make them survive.[357]

When the children in the orphanages grew up and settled comfortably in Christian villages there was no necessity of running so many asylums. Subsequently they were closed. First the boys' and girls' asylum at Pipli was closed, followed by the closure of the boys' asylum at Berhampur. In 1900 when 50 boys and 20 girls from Sambalpur were sent to Berhampur, a new boarding school for boys was opened for them. In 1904, the Cuttack Boys' Asylum was closed and the children were sent to Berhampur School. In the same year an Industrial School was established for those boys at Berhampur. In 1908, the Berhampur Girls Asylum was closed and the girls were sent to the Cuttack girls Boarding School. This boarding school, at present, is known as the Buckley Girls High School.[358]

These Orphanages, therefore, were a boon for the uncared for children who were brought up with Christian love and affection and in the process became worthy members of the Society.

Education is considered as the chief agent for social change. In Orissa there was very little private and government incentive in opening educational institutions. When the missionaries opened schools in Orissa they did not receive much aid and encouragement from both the sectors. In the words of K. C. Majumdar - "There was no Richardson, no De Rozio, no Grant, no Duff, no Hau, no Bethure to reinforce the socially creative force which the missionaries represented."[359]

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When the Government opened schools in the later part of the 19th century it did not introduce Bible and other Christian religious scriptures. Therefore when the missionary schools introduced religious study as a part of the curriculum many preferred the government schools. They were not prepared to send their children to learn an alien religion.

Mission schools were unable to thrive without the patronage of the government. After the Wood's Despatch of 1854, grants-in-aid by the government was allowed to private mission schools. The latter gradually turned secular to fulfil the requirements of the government.[360] The missionaries allowed the Inspectors of Education to supervise their schools. When they realised that Government schools were becoming popular they made it more secular.

It is found that in mission schools the Brahmin and Kshatriyas, the high caste children came to be educated. These high caste people were not easy converts to Christianity. Therefore though these people took the benefit of English secondary education, the missionaries did not gain converts through education. The post-primary mission schools charged fees. Therefore the poor and the underprivileged had poor representation in High Schools.[361] Even then both the government and the mission schools tried to remove the caste barrier by allowing children of all caste to be taught together in their schools.[362]

At times the lower castes to avoid being persecuted by the higher caste sought protection from the Christian institutions and sent their children to mission schools.

There is another side of the story. According to B. Holmes - "On the basis of selection processes through education, political and bureaucratic elites were established XXXXXXXX selective education meant that the gap between the elite and the masses widened. In one sense this was a gap between the literate and the illiterates, or between the Christians and non-Christians. Again mission education in particular tended to perpetuate and intensify the divisions among ethnic, regional and parochial groups."[363]

Missionary education did not contribute towards the building of a strong middle class in Orissa as was the case in Bengal.

This kind of education was confined to the lower classes of the society. The upper class remained indifferent and hostile towards Christian education as a means of conversion.[364]

Printing and Publications - The earliest centres of printing in Oriya language was the Serampore Press established by Messrs Carey, Marshman and Ward at Serampore, The Baptist Mission Press of Calcutta and the Press of Fort William College.[365]

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Literary and linguistic works in several regional Indian languages were done specially by the Serampore Missionaries.

It was Carey's master plan to evangelise through the common tongue. He believed " The soul and spirit of preaching must be wanting, unless one has some command of language."[366]

The printing press at Serampore within a period 32 years between 1801 - 1832 had published a record number of two hundred and twelve thousand volumes in different languages.[367]

The New Testament in Oriya was translated from Bengali to Oriya in 1808[368] perhaps with the help of an Oriya Pandit Mrutyunjaya Vidyalankara.[369] Four volumes of the Old Testament was printed between 1811 and 1815. The second edition of the New Testament was printed in 1822.[370]

The first Indian to make Bengali type of letters was Panchanan Karmakar. His son-in-law Manohar Mistry had made other types of Bengali letters for the purpose of printing. A disciple of Manohar Mistry, Adhar by name prepared the Oriya type of letters.[371]

Till then the Bible was not translated into any other language except Bengali. Some Missionaries had preached with the help of this printed Testament in Oriya first at Balasore in the year 1814.

The Serampore Press had also printed a number of tracts in Oriya and one important Book entitled 'A vocabulary, Oriya and English' for the use of students' was compiled by Mohan Prasad Thakur and published in 1811.[372]

The British government at its earliest had opened factories at Hariharpur in 1633.[373] Prior to them the Danes, the Dutch and the Portugese had several settlements in Orissa. But there is no instance of any establishment of a printing press in that region.[374]

The missionaries gave priority to preaching Christianity with the help of native languages. It was, therefore, required to translate and publish the scriptures in the native Oriya language. Orissa had no printing press and had to depend entirely on Serampore and Calcutta for printing and publication of Oriya texts. These works were mostly translations from Bengali originals. Indigenous books were available in the form of palm leaf manuscripts. That was time consuming and at times differed from the original.[375]

When the Orissa Mission was established in 1822, the work of translation and preparation for publication became the responsibility of Rev Amos Sutton. On the request of the East India Company he compiled the Oriya Grammar. Sutton's book "An introductory grammar of the Oriya language" was published at Calcutta in 1831. It was the first work of its kind. In the preface the author writes that "with the ex-

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ception of those immediately concerned with the propagation of Christianity perhaps not two individuals exist who know the language with any tolerable degree of grammatical accuracy.[376]

The Cuttack mission gave high priority for production of books and tracts for their evangelical work and therefore, felt the need of an independent press at Cuttack.[377]

The Orissa missionary Rev. J. Peggs after returning from India furnished in the Report of 1827 the necessity of an independent press for Orissa - "To show the necessity of this department of missionary labour, it may be interesting to the friends of the Mission to know the whole number of printed books and tracts in the Oreah language in 1822. It appears to have been as follows -

1. The Oreah Bible by Dr. Carey in five Volumes.
2. A Vocabulary Oreah and English by a Native.
3. A poem of 100 pages on the Christian religion, written by a Bengalee Christian.
4. A Tract on the stopping of Juggernaut's car at Serampore, by Mr. Ward, written to prevent a human sacrifice that the car might proceed.
5. A Tract upon the folly of the worship of Juggernaut.
6. Scripture Extracts (One leaf) A copy or two of another tract has been found in Orissa.[378]

More printing work was done at Serampore and Calcutta. These were :-

1. Elementary Tables of the Oreah language printed by the School Book Society, Calcutta.
2. On the Law and Gospel (Scripture Extracts).
3. Half a dozen Hymns from the Bengalee.
4. The Word of God concerning Idolatry.
5. A Catechism from one in Bengalee.
6. A word for Christianity (One leaf) Thousands printed.
7. Death and Resurrection of Jesus Christ.
8. Serampore Copy-Books, partly printed and
9. A Harmony of the Gospel in Verse.[379]

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Quite a sizable amount of printing in Oriya language had been done by the Serampore missionaries. The contemporary missionary brethren in Orissa felt the necessity of continuing with this work of printing. Rev. A. Sutton had appealed to the Home-Committee for approval of the establishment of an independent Press in Orissa. In the year 1836, with the latter's approval Sutton made arrangements for a Press to be set up. In 1837, Rev. C. Lacey on his return journey from England had got a printing machine. The Press was ultimately set up on 1st March, 1838 in the old school house of the Cuttack mission. It was named "The Orissa Mission Press."[380]

The printing work started with Oriya letters available from Serampore.[381] The Mission Press was run with a Hand Press and lead types were used in printing which they got from the mission establishment at Serampore in Bengal[382] where scriptures, tracts and school-books in Bengali, Oriya and Santali were printed.[383]

The first product of the Press was "Jagannath Tirth Mahatmya." Sutton's work was made easier and number of tracts were published at Mission Press in 1838 like :

1. Sri Sri Gundicha Yatrar Mahascharya Phala (The wonderful advantages of a pilgrimage to Jagannath),
2. San Henri O tahar Beherar Vritanta (The history of little Henri and his bearer). This was an Oriya version of the stories meant for children and presumably intended for teaching purposes in vernacular schools.
3. Pitambar Simhar Charitra : (Memoir of Pitambar Singh). The memoir of this Bengali convert who died at Serampore in 1805, at the age of sixty was first composed in Bengali by Rev William Ward.
4. Iswar Atmasvarup (God is a spirit).
5. Dharma Bisayar Kathabartta.[384]

The report prepared for the Orissa Conference in the year 1838, mentioned about the work of the Press in Orissa -"Our mission this year (1838) presents a new and interesting feature in the establishment of a printing office in connection with our mission and in the centre of Orissa."[385]

It was remarked about the functioning of the Press in the "Friend of India" - "We have received a copy of a tract printed at Cuttack at the Press which the missionaries have this year established at that station. It is printed in the Oriya character, and for neatness of execu-

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tion is not exceeded by any similar brochure which has issued from the Metropolitan Press in Calcutta. It does no little credit to those whose feelings of public spirit and Christian benevolence the district is now indebted for an efficient press. The establishment of a Press in any province is an important era in its history. It is delightful, therefore, to contemplate the rapid increase of the means of intellectual and religious improvement through means of this mighty engine in the various and even remote provinces of this empire."[386]

More was reported in the "Friend of India" - "We rejoice that a press has been established in that country, capable of executing any work in the Oriya language and character. The extent to which the language is used has only been discovered of late. We find that it is spoken and written through an extent of country three hundred miles in breadth from the sea, to one hundred miles in length west of Sumbulpore and more than two hundred miles in breadth from Midnapore, where it melts into Bengalee, to Ganjam where it meets the Teloogoo. It was indispensable, therefore, to the completeness of missionary operation to that kingdom, that means should be provided on the spot for multiplying books in a language so extensively used.[387]

Growth and Development of the Cuttack Press - The Cuttack Press expanded rapidly and in 1839, the first Bible translation in Oriya was printed. The next year Rev. Sutton's revised version of the New Testament was printed. The first volume of Sutton's compilation of an Oriya dictionary was published in 1841, and the second and third volumes in 1843.[388]

Though the Press was established with the intention of printing religious tracts in the Oriya language, in the following years the mission took up the work of printing books for government vernacular schools. These schools had gradually replaced those established by the missionaries. In the year 1845, a total number of 62,700 items were published at the press out of which 2,700 were school books, 53,000 were Christian tracts and remaining 7,000 were Bible translations. By 1858, the press had printed in the twenty years since its establishment a total of 9,52, 700 tracts between twelve and thirty six pages, 77,000 gospels, 31,050 miscellaneous portions of scripture, 25,375 religious volumes and 34,350 volumes of educational series.[389]

Like Serampore and Fort William College, The Orissa Mission Press at Cuttack became an important centre for the development of early Oriya printing.

Initiation of the printing through foreign efforts greatly inspired indigenous scholarship and zeal. It ultimately led to the establishment

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of an indigenous printing company at Cuttack in 1864, known as 'Cuttack Printing Company.'[390]

Rev. A. Sutton was the first Superintendent of the Mission Press. In 1841, another missionary William Brooke by name, came to Cuttack and was in charge of the Press from 1842 to 1881. He was followed by Mr. Molholland and then by Mr. J. Hill. After Rev. Hill, Rev. Harvey, Rev. Grundi and Rev. Robinson were some of the missionaries in charge of the Press. In the year 1884, another new printing machine was brought. On its way the ship 'Chinsura' carrying the machine capsized near Fallspoint. Then a new improvised machine was added.[391]

In 1857, the application for permission to use the Press was made by W. Brooks, Printer of the Orissan Mission Press on behalf of the B. M. S. In the forwarding letter to the Secretary to the Government of Bengal, Fort William P. S. Shore had stated that the "Press will be an useful vehicle for publishing information which the government may desire to circulate" and assured that "nothing of an objectionable nature will be permitted to issue from it."[392] He had also added that "The object of the Press is to print and publish religious works, tracts, hymn books, Bibles in Orissa, but the Printer is also authorised to execute orders he may receive from other parties, and does in fact do a good deal of work in their way for Government."[393]

In the year 1838, a building was constructed for the Press. In 1899, this building was extended during the management of Rev. Harvey. In Rev. Robinson's time a big hall was also constructed and during Rev. Grundi's a new "Press House" on Superintendent's residence was erected in 1912. Until 1940, the Press was run by the Cuttack Mission. From that year onwards the management was controlled by the Utkal Baptist Central Union.[394]

In 1939, the Press came under the control of the Central Church Council. The same year, the Report of the Central Council concluded-"We look forward with hope to the future, believing that a Mission Press is one of the most effective factors in the propagation of the gospel and in the establishing of the Church in the province of Orissa."[395]

The Cuttack Press employed many Christians. Boys from the orphanage worked as apprentices and got the required training to earn a livelihood. The Press functioned with true Christian Spirit.

Christian magnanimity was obvious when it was decided that the beneficiaries of the Press should be not the missionaries but also the government of Orissa as well as the people of Orissa. This was evident from the observation made by the "Friend of India." "Why should the benefits of this local press be confined to missionary operations ?

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Why should not Government avail itself of the means of communication with the people which have thus been provided, by publishing its own acts and notifications through the same channel."[396]

At that time there was a proposal to provincialise the public service in Orissa. Selections were to be done on the basis of a knowledge of vernacular language of the state. As stated in the "The Friend of India" - "This is a great step towards the improvement of the Province. But to render it efficiently it is necessary to follow it up by the translation of all orders which the people are required to understand and act on into their own language, and by a liberal use of the Press which has now been established."[397]

The literary indulgence of the missionaries helped in the development of the Indian press and the growth of the many Indian languages.[398] Mr. Jawaharlal Nehru had also pointed out - "The Missionaries tackled some of the minor and undeveloped languages and gave them shape and form, compiling grammars and dictionaries for them. They even labored at the dialects of the primitive hill and forest tribes and reduced them to writing. The desire of the Christian Missionaries to translate the Bible into every possible tongue thus resulted in the development of many Indian languages."[399]

The Company's Charter of 1698, was clear about the fact that "the chaplains in the factories are to study the vernacular languages the better to enable them to instruct the Gentoos that shall be the servants or slaves of the same Company or their agents in the Protestant religion."[400] Due to political reasons the government discouraged the development of Indian languages. Language was considered to be a successful media of spreading nationalist sentiment. Prof. Seeley in his "Expansion of England" had remarked -"If there would arise in India a nationality movement similar to that which we witnessed in Italy, the English power could not even make the resistance that was made in Italy by Austria, but must succumb at once."[401] Christian Missionaries created conditions conducive to the development of regional languages.[402] The establishment of the Press was a great help in this sphere. It encouraged the development of Oriya language and literature.

The Baptist missionaries had tried to popularize Christianity through the Indian languages. Hence they took pains to learn it. They had mastered 35 regional languages of India and Oriya was also included in them.[403]

Due to the language barrier the first missionaries to Orissa Rev. Peggs and Rev. Bampton could not make much progress in the Orissa mission. Rev. Lacey and Rev. Sutton who followed them considered

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it their duty to first learn the Oriya language. Rev. C. Lacey had learnt Oriya under the guidance of Pandit Bhagirathi Mishra. Rev A. Sutton wrote - "While the Orissa missionaries thus sought to benefit any they could reach through the medium of their own tongue, they were earnestly intent on the acquisition of the Oriya language and instructing the people through that medium. They considered themselves as sent to the Oriyas.[404]

The Serampore missionaries Messrs Carey, Marshman and Ward were convinced that Christianity can be successful if it can be communicated through the language of the mass. This factor encouraged them to work for the development of the Oriya language. Apart from tracts, periodicals, text books, grammar books and dictionaries were compiled in regional languages as an aid to learning these languages. They came to the conclusion that the Oriya language has been derived from Sanskrit. A comparative study of Oriya and other languages also confirmed the fact that each language can be declared a separate language.[405]

In subsequent years there arose a sentiment amongst the Bengalis to abolish the separate identity of the Oriya language. But by that time the Oriya language was so deep rooted that the cause was lost. The missionaries in Orissa began duplicating the palm leaf manuscripts of certain books on paper related to Hindu religion. The copies of these handwritten books are still preserved in the Bhubaneswar State Museum. These books are - Haripurana, Gangacharita, Gunasagar, Bhagabat, Bichitra Ramayan, Raskallol, Kriya Yogsagar, Kartik Mahatmya Chhatish Guptagita, Tulavina, Lakshmi Purana, Ramayan Lanka Kanda etc. These books were rewritten during the years 1842-43, when Englishmen like Stirling and Long were unaware of the Oriya language, missionaries had copied hundreds of books by hand.[406] The books in Oriya language, written, translated and published by the Orissa missionaries were in the form of tracts, religious books (Bible-Old and New Testament), text books, periodicals, literary exposition and other miscellaneous works.

Tracts - The early missionaries to Orissa Rev. J. Peggs and Rev. W. Bampton had left Serampore with 500 tracts written in Oriya language. They were distributed in the native market places where people gathered to hear them.[407]

The first tract to be printed by the Orissa Mission Press was "Jagannath Tirtha Mahatmya" (The wonderful advantages of a pilgrimage to Jagannath). The newspaper 'Friends of India' had expressed satisfaction with the style of printing of the tract. Consisting of 18 pages it was a satire on the sufferings of the people who had gone

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to witness the Car festival.[408] Seven missionaries have gone to Puri and distributed 5,000 copies of this tract amongst the pilgrims.[409]

As mentioned earlier other tracts like the 'History of little Henri and his bearer,' 'Memoirs of Pitambar Singh' etc. were published in the year 1838, by the Orissa Mission Press.[410]

Most of the tracts published in Oriya were translations. Those were:

1. Abridgement of Baxter's Call to the Uninviled - Its Oriya translation is Papimananka Prati Nivedan.
2. True Refuge' - 'Satya Ashraya.'
3. Three Words of Instructions' - 'Upadeshara Tinoti Katha'.
4. 'The Claims of Divine Origin of Christianity and Hinduism Contrasted.'
5. Memoirs of Laxmi Bai and Duibee, Two Hindoo Christian Women—Laxmibai Puni Duibeenkara Charitra.
6. Death's Judgement of Futurity—'Mrityu Bichar Din O Paroloka Bishay.'[411]

The tracts published by W. Brooks were -

(a) Christanka Amantran (Christ's invitation)

(b) Unmukta Dwar (Open Door)

(c) Muktira Manimay Kahani (Jewel Mine of Salvation)

(d) Dharma Sambadhiya Jigansara Uttar (Answers relating to religious questions)

(e) Christian Dharmara Samkhipta Katha

(f) Iswar Chaitanya Swarup

(g) Dharma Bidweshi Bhaimananku Jane Hindu Christianra Udbodhan.[412]

In the year 1835, about 28,000 copies of tracts were distributed amongst the people of Orissa. The American Tract Society had given 500 dollars for the printing of these tracts. In addition to the annual donation the Religious Tract Society had given 85 reams of paper. Fifty reams of paper was also given to the Orissa missionaries towards the translation of 'Pilgrims Progress' to Oriya. In the year 1937, these missionaries also received ninety reams of paper and one thousand dollars for printing and publication of tracts.[413]

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The Report of the Orissa Mission of 1845, mentions about the publication of some tracts -"The third volume of Tracts, entitled 'Controversial series' intended as a 'Guide for enquirers' containing 244 papers, has also been finished, and a number of copies of this, as also of the two preceding volumes, have been put in circulation. One other volume of miscellaneous tracts yet remains to complete the series." "Our Hymn book in Oriya has been completed, and is now in constant use at our different stations. It contains three hundred and ten hymns by various authors, chiefly native metres and an appendix for children of a hundred and forty hymns and poems, some original and the rest taken from Watts, Doddridge LCC. This appendix has been translated into Bengalee and has been printed for general use at the Serampore Press.[414]

The Report adds -"Two or three tracts have been revised for new editions, and added to our stock for distribution. Our tracts on 'Drunkness and being in debt' have been adopted by our Calcutta brethren and are published in Calcutta by the Tract Society. The introductory part of a little treatise on 'Remedies for Bodily Diseases, pointing out the disease and remedy of the soul, has been drawn up by me and accepted by the Calcutta Tract Society, but has not yet made its appearance.[415]

During the year 1845, Rev. Sutton was also engaged in the compilation of a work similar to the Tract Society's 'Companion to the Bible' with a 'Summary of Scripture truth.'[416]

The Annual Report of the Committee of Baptist Missionary Society of the year (1897) gives an account of the Tracts published.

	Tract	*Copies*
1.	Malati O Bhagyabati	2,000
2.	Jewel Mine of Salvation	10,000
3.	Sermon on the Mount	5,000
4.	Miracle of Christ	5,000
5.	Jagannath Tested	10,000
6.	Muktira Marg	5,000
7.	True Christian	3,000
8.	Christanka Jeevani (Padya)	10,000
9.	Jamindar O Royat	1,000
10.	Sristira Katha, Muktira Marg Ebam Christanka Jeevani	6,000
11.	Pilanka Dharma Geeta	500
12.	Line Upon Line Sheshajai	1,000

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13.	Biblera Sishu	1,500
14.	Selection of Tract	2,000 [417]

The Annual Report of the Committee of the Baptist Missionary Society for the 1900 mentions the name of new tracts which had been published by the Orissa Mission Press.

	Tract	*Copies*
1.	Saving Truth (Satyaraksha)	5,000
2.	Christadharma Kaun ?	5,000
3.	Churchara Bhajana	3,000
4.	Sunday School Bhajanamala	3,000
5.	The Drunkard's mirror (Madyapara Mukura)	2,000
6.	Josephara Itihasa	5,000
7.	Current sayings	500
8	Oriyara Prathama Patha	500
9.	Christanka Bani	500[418]

Some of these tracts were written in the language of the tribals i.e. in Mundari and Santhal language. It was done with an intention of popularising Christianity amongst the tribals of Orissa. The missionaries were the first to give recognition to these tribal languages by printing tracts in their spoken language.[419]

In the beginning these tracts were distributed free of cost. Later on these were sold at nominal price.[420]

The financial aid required for the printing of these tracts came from the B.M.S. Committee. The English Religious Tract Society and Bible Society in England also came to its rescue. On the eve of Rev. Sutton's departure from America the Religious Tract Society had given him 33,000 dollars for the popularisation of Christian literature.[421]

For many years no body in particular was in charge of the development of Christian literature. In the year 1910, the Orissa Missionary Conference formed a Tract Committee. Rev. Vaughan, Rev. Wilkinson, Rev. H. W., Pike, Rev. Doli Patra and Miss Thomas were members of the First Tract Committee.[422]

The translation of the tracts from Bengali to Oriya was done mostly by Rev. C. Lacey and Rev. A. Sutton. Lacey's translation 'Nistar Ratnakar' (Way to escape damnation) and 'Muktir Subarna Sujog' (Jewel Mine of Salvation) had created sensation amongst the people. Sadhu Sunder Das and his disciples were the first to receive them with glee.[423] The following religious books were published by the Orissa Mission Press between the years 1839-44.

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1. Dharma Pustakara Antabhag - Mathew, Mark, Luke, Johan Likhit Mangal Samachar.
2. Peshitamananankar Kriyar Britanta.
3. Jesuchristank Nutan Niyam - (Published in the year 1840)
4. Dharma Pustakara Adibhag - (Published in 1842)
5. Dharmagranthara Adibhag - (Published in 1843) (2nd Vol.)
6. Dharmapustakara Adibhag - (Published in 1844) Beginning from Psalms of David.
7. Dharmapustakara Antabhaga O Jesu Christanka Nutan Niyam (Published in 1845)[424]

Bible - The missionaries made the translated work of the Bible in Oriya available to the people through printing. This kind of work was undertaken through successive stages in order to give it a perfect look.

Between the years 1840-44 Rev. Sutton had translated and published the New and Old Testament in Oriya language.[425]

The Report of 1845 of the Orissa Mission refers to the labours of the Press. The Secretary observes :

"In this department of labour the past year has witnessed important progress. Mr. Sutton, as has been mentioned, has been enabled to complete his new version of the Old Testament. This had been carried through the press at the expense of the British and Foreign Bible Society. For his personal labours as translator, Mr. Sutton has received 5,000 rupees which he has carried to the credit of Society, thus displaying the most honourable and disinterested zeal for the Mission of which "he is so faithful and efficient an instrument."[426]

The Committee of the Calcutta Auxiliary Bible Society also refers to the publication of the Old Testament from the Cuttack Press. "Your Committee are happy in being able to announce the completion of the new version of the Old Testament into Oriya language, which the Rev. A. Sutton of Cuttack, has been preparing for the Society. The edition, which consists of 2,000 copies of the entire Old Testament, in three volumes, besides 3,000 copies each of genesis, the Psalter and Proverbs, has been printed at the mission press at Cuttack, under the immediate superintendence of Mr. Sutton, 1,000 copies of Isaiah, in a separate form have also been struck off while the work was passing through the press. It is pleasing to observe the steady

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progress of the work of God in this country; every year, adds something to the great cause; and your Committee look, with thankful feelings, to every additional version issued."[427]

In the year 1858, Mr. Isaac Stubbins made some corrections in the translation of the New Testament from Mathew to Roman Letters and sent it for printing. This work was completed in 1862, by Dr. John Buckley. A pocket book of this publication was very popular amongst the young converts.[428] In 1866, the translation from Greek language to Oriya entitled 'Dharma Pustakara Antabhaga Arthat Ambhamanankar Tranakarta Prabhu Jesuchristankar Nutan Niyam' (The concluding part of the Bible i.e. our saviour Lord Jesus Christ's New Testament) was completed.[429]

In the year 1872, Dr. Buckley with the help of a certain native preacher, Jagu Raul had published the revised version of the 'Old Testament'.[430] Again in 1893, the translation work of the whole Bible into Oriya language was revised. Rev. Shyam Sahoo, Rev. J. P. Pike and Rev. Thomas Bailey were the notable Christians who were entrusted with this responsibility. They worked hard and succeeded in completely translating the Bible. It required more revision to achieve perfection.[431]

After many years i.e. in 1924, Rev. H. W. Pike began the translation of the New Testament in his own style. It was known as the "Pike edition." Rev. Pike received the service of Rev. Benjamin Pradhan. This work was considered to be a valuable edition, but it failed to interest the readers.[432]

In the year 1938, the translation of the Bible work resumed under the joint responsibility of the Orissa Christian Literary Society, British and Foreign Bible Society and different missionary societies operating in Orissa. Rev. Benjamin Pradhan, Rev. F. Fellows and Rev. Gangadhar Rath (of the America Mission) began with the revision of New Testament. Rev. A. Anderson of the Danish Lutheran Mission working in Southern Orissa joined in this effort. Rev. B. Pradhan was the chief of the revisory committee.[433]

School Books : It is quite clear, missionary efforts in encouraging the Oriya language was confined to printing of religious scriptures. These scriptures initially dominated the realm of textbooks. Before the year 1822, there were no modern schools in Orissa. Except for a dictionary and textbooks of inferior kind there weren't any textbooks in the true sense. These books were published by the Orissa Baptist Missionary Society and the printing was done at Serampore.[434] The only English to Oriya Dictionary (1811) by Mohan Thakur was available before 1822.[435]

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The necessity for textbooks arose when schools were established by the missionaries in Orissa after 1822. In November, 1823 a missionary had written that he had translated from Bengali to Oriya the primary textbook published by the School Book Society. These were tracts on idolatry and were references from the Bible meant to be distributed in schools and amongst the people of Orissa. After the Paik rebellion (1817) the British government favoured the use of Oriya language in the administration as a substitute for directions in Parsi and Bengali language.[436]

The necessity was felt for all the government directions to be rewritten in Oriya. Keeping this in mind the then Commissioner Mr. Pakenhome had requested Rev. Sutton to compile a Oriya Grammar Book.[437] In the year 1831, Rev. Sutton's Book, 'An Introductory Grammar of Oriya Language' was printed at the Serampore Missionary Press. On Mr. Pakenhome's request Rev. Sutton translated this book into Oriya language entitled 'Oriya Byakaranara Upakramanika.' About this book, J. Peggs writes - "An Oreah Grammar, compiled by the request of Government, and of which the Honourable Company subscribed for 100 copies, at five rupees each. Of this Mr. Sutton remarks of to a friend, "I have endeavoured to simplify the language as much as possible. That no improvement can be made I do not support, however, I did the best circumstances would allow." He further remarks that he hoped the Government subscription would about clear the expense, and that the Mission and the cause of humanity would receive sufficient benefit to justify the labour employed on the publication."[438] The necessity for school books were fulfilled by the missionaries by translating from Bengali to Oriya, the Primary text books published by the Calcutta School Book Society and were distributed in Schools. In 1832, the Oriya Grammar (1831), Easy Reading Lesson (1831), Oriya Stotras were written by Sutton by the request of the government. Padartha Vidyasar (published by the C.S.B.S.) and Geography in Schools, books with maps, Nitikatha and Dharmapustakara Sara were accepted as text books.[439]

The Stotras were taught in the missionary schools and preaching centres of the mission. This book consisted of 310 stotras written by many, in local style. At the end there was an additional 410 stotras and poems for children.[440]

The list of Oriya textbooks published before the year 1842, is available in the Report of 1857-58 of the Education Department. They are:

(a) Sutton's English to Oriya Dictionary (1831)

(b) Padartha Vidyasar (1832)

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(c) History Book (1839), and

(d) Oriya Dictionary (1841)[441]

In writing the Oriya textbooks Rev. Sutton had followed the footsteps of a famous Bengali literature Mr. William Yates. Mr. Yates had translated 'Baxter's Religion' into Bengali in 1840. Rev. Sutton had done some translations to Oriya language in Yate's style.[442]

The textbooks published by the missionaries of Orissa between the years 1822-42 bore some distinct facts of its own. The first thing to be noticed was that textbooks were not designed on the basis of some kind of fixed principles. They were published just to serve the immediate requirements of the student rather than to enhance the intellectual development of the student.[443]

These textbooks were written mostly by the missionaries. Since they laid more emphasis on religious preaching than secular teaching they spent less on printing and publication of these books. Even the British Government in Bengal did not provide any financial aid in this respect.[444]

In the beginning there were very few schools in Orissa. Therefore, the printing of textbooks was limited in number. More so the missionaries had learnt Bengali before learning the Oriya language. Therefore, their textbooks had a definite Bengali influence. Many textbooks were pure translations from Bengali works.[445]

Before the year 1842, there was not much of co-operation between the missionaries and the Committee of Public Instruction in matters of textbooks. After 1842, with the introduction of modern education in government schools the necessity was felt for textbooks of a secular nature. Therefore, missionaries had to design the syliabus of these books to suit the requirements of the student, to understand the fundamentals of science, arts and philosophy.[446]

The missionaries of Orissa wrote the textbooks for mission schools as well as for the government schools. These books were written both in English and vernacular language.

In September, 1842, the Cuttack Education Committee had recommended the name of Rev. Sutton to the Bengali Education Council to translate the textbooks in Oriya. He was also chosen by the same committee as the fittest person for preparing the required works in vernacular language. His proficiency in Oriya Mission Press made it a success.[447]

Amongst the number of textbooks published between the years 1842-57 there were Rev. Sutton's

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1) Introductory Lesson (1843)
2) Dictionary (1844)
3) The First Lessons in English (1844)
4) Vernacular Class Book Reader (1846)
5) Oriya Instructor (1846)
6) History of Orissa (1846)
7) Oriya Primer (5th Edition, 1850)
8) Moral Class Book in Oriya (1852)[448]

The Missionary Report for the year 1845 mentions-"The Oriya and English Grammar with idiomatical exercises & C., intended to furnish a compendious and easy introduction to the language, and especially designed for missionary students and candidates, has also been completed and a hundred copies have been taken by Government which will cover the expense of preparation."[449]

The other books compiled and published by Rev. Sutton were - Batrish Simhasan (1850), Gita Govinda (1840) and Amarkosha (1845). Lacey's Oriya Vyakaran (1855), Neetikatha (1855), Hitopadesh (1855) and Rev. J. Phillip's Oriya Bhugula (1845) were also included as text-books.[450]

In the year 1857-58, the following books were published in the Orissa Mission Press for Madras Government to be used in the schools of Ganjam district.

1. Oriya Vyakarana
2. Oriya Padartha Vidyasara, Part-I
3. Odisara Itihas
4. Neetikatha and Hitopadesha.[451]

In the year 1858-59 the text books published by the Mission Press were :

1. Varnabodhaka (2,000 copies)
2. Patiganita (2nd Part, 4,000 copies)
3. Tarinicharan's Geography translation (4,000 copies)
4. Orissara Itihasa (1st and 2nd Part, 1,100 copies)
5. Vernacular Class Book Reader (1,100 copies)
6. Oriya Ganita (1st and 2nd Part, 3,200 copies)
7. Oriya Primer (2,200 copies)[452]

The next year i.e. in 1859-60, books like Nitibodha (2,000 copies) and Bhugala Bibaran (1st and 2nd Part, 2,000 copies) were published.[453] An increase in the number of schools, the Government's direct co-

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operation, the proper planning of the Education Council and the establishment of the Orissa Mission Press at Cuttack in 1837, all these factors contributed to the increase in the printing and publication of textbooks in Orissa.[454]

Oriya Dictionary and Grammar Books : To learn a language one has to depend on dictionary and grammar books. The missionaries were convinced that language was a successful way of communicating with the natives. Rev. Sutton had written the Oriya Grammar (1831) in English. The Oriya translation of this grammar book was also available.[455]

The preface of Sutton's Oriya Grammar in English mentions that:

"The present is the first grammar of the Oriya language even yet published. This circumstance it is hoped, will plead on behalf of the author for any inaccuracy which a future cultivation of the language may bring to light. Had he enjoyed the society of any Sanskrit Scholar, it is more than probable, that many things which to him were obscure for want of a better acquaintance with that language, would at once have been rendered Plain."[456]

Rev. Sutton had highly rated the status of Oriya language:

"The words which form the Oriya language may be considered as of three kinds. The Original language of the country, the Sanskrit and mixed words, or words introduced from a foreign source being more or less corrupted in their assimilation with the Oriya." However, the Author supposes, that there was an Original Oriya language, and the Sanskrit has been engrafted upon it.[457] Sutton had impressed upon the fact that Oriya language was spoken amongst a sizeable population of India with slight variation - "The Oriya language is spoken with a greater or less degree of purity from Midnapore and Injellee, North and East, to Chicacole and Sambalpore South and West. On the north of Jellasore, it gradually yields to the Bengalee, and from Ganjam. Southwards it amalgamates with the Telooggoo or Telinga.[458]
While writing this grammar book he was influenced by Rev. Dr. W. Carey's translation of the Oriya scriptures, Babu Rammohan Roy's Bengalee Grammar, Yate's Sanskrit Grammar and Campbells's Telugu Grammar.[459]

In the year 1841, Rev. Sutton compiled the dictionary in Oriya entitled 'An English and Oriya Dictionary And a list of Official terms.'

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This dictionary had three volumes. The first volume consisted of three parts. The first part was Oriya Grammar (brief grammar of the Oriya language), the second had English synonyms of Oriya words (An English-Oriya Dictionary) and third consisted of Oriya synonyms of English words commonly used in government offices (official terms used in the public offices of Orissa). The first volume was published by the Orissa Mission, Press.[460]

The preface of this volume mentions that the author was greatly indebted to Mr. Marshman (the missionary from Serampore) "not only for his list of English words, but for a free transcription of such Bengali renderings as suited his purpose.[461]

The second volume of the dictionary entitled 'Utkal Bhasarthavidhan' was compiled jointly by Rev. Sutton and Pandit Bhubanananda Nyayalankar in the year 1843.[462]

The third volume 'Sadhubhashartha vidhan' was published by the Mission Press in 1844. 20,000 Oriya words and its English synonyms was compiled in this volume, words used in offices as well as common names of medicines was included in this volume. C. Lacey's (Oriya vyakaran Sar 1855) and J. Buckley's Utkal Vasharthabhidhan contributed to the knowledge of Oriya Grammar. The three volumes of Sutton's Dictionary is still preserved in the National Library at Calcutta In later years others attempting to write books on Oriya Grammar and compiling Oriya dictionaries were certainly influenced by Sutton's works. Mr. John Beams (1872), Mr. J. G. Pike, Mr. Miller (1873), Mr. T. J. Maltby (Madras Civil Service), D. R. Rout, J. S. Rout (1874), Pandit Gopinath Nanda Sharma, Mr. Gopalchandra Praharaj were all indebted to Sutton's influence in their works.[463]

Another Oriya-English Dictionary compiled by Rev. Brooks was published by the Orissa Mission Press in 1875. Rev. W. Miller of Cuttack had also prepared an English to Oriya Dictionary.[464] An useful book, known as "A Practice Hand Book of Oriya Language" was prepared by T. J. Maltby, Esq. (Madras Civil Service). This was not only useful to foreigners learning Oriya but also for Oriyas learning English.[465]

Sutton's Oriya Grammar Book and Oriya dictionary showed his understanding of the fundamentals of Oriya language.

There were others who followed Rev. Sutton in writing textbooks for schools. One W. C. Lacey translated Shri Tarini Bandopadhaya's Bhugola Bibaran Part-I from Bengali to Oriya.[466]

In the year 1858, the Mission Press at Cuttack published the translation of Shri Prasanna Sarbadhikari's Pati Ganita from Bengali into Oriya by W. C. Lacey. The first two parts of this book were translated by Shri Nabin Chandra Sarangi.[467]

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It is easy to conclude that missionary efforts to publish textbooks between the years 1842-57 had given the students a modern education.

Mr. Rose, the first Education Inspector of Orissa, after making a survey of the educational system had spoken in favour of improving the standard of textbooks in Oriya language. He had acknowledged Oriya as a separate language and not a subsidiary of Bengali. Therefore, he wanted textbooks to be written in Oriya. He had expressed his gratitude to Rev. Sutton and Rev. W. C. Lacey for their contribution towards the preparation and publication of textbooks for students.[468]

It was acknowledged in the Oriya weekly paper 'Utkal Dipika' about W. C. Lacey's contribution to the learning of the Oriya language through his books.[469]

Periodicals

Other useful periodicals were published and the pioneers were incidentally the missionaries of Orissa. These journals covered a wide range of topics beginning with religion, politics etc. and including topics of social interest. It created a literary awakening amongst the educated Oriyas.

Before the missionary effort in the field of journalism Sadhu Sunder Das of Kujibar Ashram had started a magazine named 'Kujibar Paper' (Kujibar Patra). It was written on palm leaf or hand written on 'Haritali' paper and was distributed in markets, fairs and other congregation.[470] Portions of this periodical were translated into English and sent abroad by the missionaries to be published in the Baptist Journal of England.[471] The Report of the Secretary of the Centenary Volume of the Baptist Missionary Society London (1792-1892) also says that Kujibar Papers were sent to London.[472] The publication was done with the help of the Baptist Mission.[473]

The British Government had taken the initiative of publishing the Orissa Gazette. In the year 1838, Oriya language replaced Persian Language as the Court Language. The necessity arose for translating the governmental direction in English and Bengali into Oriya. In July, 1850 a translation Committee was appointed to publish Government Gazette. Rev. Sutton was considered the most suitable person to undertake this translation work. On 3rd February, 1841, Mr. Mills in his letter to the Sudder Board of Revenue suggested that Mr. Sutton should be paid Rs.300 for translating the laws and the Government Gazette into Oriya language. In a circular dated 5th October, 1841 the Deputy Secretary to Bengal Mr. Young had agreed to publish the advertisements in the Vernacular Gazette.[474]

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Though the exact year of the publication of the Government Gazette is uncertain it was believed to be in circulation by 1851. After Sutton, Rev. C. Lacey was the editor of the Gazette. He left for England due to his failing health. His son Rev. W. C. Lacey (William Carey Lacey) took the responsibility in the end of 1851. In the following year 60 copies of the Gazette were published by the Orissa Mission Press. In 1858-59 the number of copies were increased to 105. Though the Gazette was in circulation until the end of the century, its purpose was to popularize the government rules and regulations. It failed to create any public opinion on any issue.[475] W. C. Lacey is considered the founder father of the Government Gazette.[476]

There wasn't any journal in Oriya language that could reach the people. 'Gyanarun' was the first monthly periodical in Oriya published by the missionaries in 1849.[477] It was edited by Rev. Charles Lacey. Its publication was discontinued after some time.

Others were Arunodaya Baptist Missionary Review, Christian Mitra, Swadeshi, Prabbati Tara and Prabodh Chandrika.[478]

The second monthly periodical 'Prabodh Chandrika' was published in the year 1856. It was edited by Rev. C. Lacey. The latter had appealed to the Bengal Government in a letter dated 20th December, 1853 requesting for government aid in publishing periodicals. The then Commissioner of Orissa Mr. Samuel had also requested the Bengal Government to purchase 50 copies of the journal in case it is published.[479]

The Commissioner of Orissa used to send 15 copies of this periodical every month to the Puri and Cuttack Collectors to be distributed amongst the rich traders and zamindars of those districts.[480] In a letter to the Bengal Government in the month of December, 1855, it was assured that the circulation of this periodical amongst the Bengalis would definitely enhance the popularity of modern education.[481] Rev. Lacey's intention was to disseminate theological and secular knowledge through the circulation of these periodicals.

Advertisements for the periodical 'Prabodh Chandrika' stated that all subscriptions for this periodical was to be addressed to Rev. W. C. Lacey residing at Cuttack. Each subscription was 10 paise and annual subscription was Rs.1.50 paise. If twelve, one anna postage stamps were to be given on advance the journal was to be delivered without any postal surcharge. Inspite of the advertisements, very few purchased this journal and its publication was discontinued in 1858.482 Arunodaya's circulation began in 1861. It was published by the 'Vernacular Literature Society. It lasted for three years. Apart from religious preaching this journal bore criticism against the British rule.[483]

In 1857 the list of periodicals published in the Cuttack district was the Government Gazette (a weekly publication) and Prabodh Chandrika

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(a monthly publication). They were published by the Baptist Mission Press at Cuttack.[484]

In the year 1876, the Berhampur Christian Society published a journal in English, Telugu and Oriya languages.[485] It was in wider circulation because of its publication in three languages, but it had very few customers. Therefore, it was changed from a weekly to a fortnightly journal.[486] The year of its discontinuity is not known.[487]

'Taraka' was another journal published by the Balasore Christian Society.[488] Stories with morals were published in this journal which aimed at the moral and intellectual development of a child. The fables were - 'Pitamatankara Angya Langhibar Phala, Chuan Nahi, Chuan Nahi, Eka Adhubhuta Kainchi, Jane Dayalu Kritadasara Katha' etc.[489]

In the monthly periodicals of 'Taraka' and 'Shubhabarata' there were articles on the labours of the missionaries in Orissa, about the converts and there were other religious references.[490]

'Prabhatitara' was published by the Mission Conference in 1896.[491] Mr. Wilkinson was its editor in the beginning years. Its circulation stopped for an intermittent period and in 1906, it was revived with Brajananda Das as editor.[492]

After many years this periodical was managed by the Utkal Christiya Mandali Sammilani. It became the sole mouth piece of this association. Mr. Sadananda Mohanty, Mr. Anamchandra Patra and Rev. Benjamin Pradhan worked as editors for this journal. Lack of funds stopped its circulation. In 1947, its publication was revived by Rev. Benjamin Pradhan, Jisaya Das, Joseph Sahu and Chunilal G. Jachak.[493] Another journal 'Prabhat' was published in Sambalpur in 1933. Rai Saheb Doctor Aijak Santra, a renowned Christian had devoted much time for the success of this journal. He had established a press in the name of his father, famous as 'Bhikari Press'. Aijak's wife Mrs. Sarat Kumari Santra was the editor of this journal. Many renowned ladies and gentlemen of Orissa were members of the management committee of this journal.[494] The Education Department of Orissa had recommended this journal to be circulated amongst students in schools and colleges.[495] Journals were published at a time when modern education had not attained popularity. Therefore, people did not read them with much enthusiasm. Though the missionaries received governmental aid to publish and circulate magazines their success was negligible. Current events were also included in the journals. This section was known as 'Samachar Patrika.'[496]

Religious journalism was different from professional journalism. The latter requires a major section of conscious, readers to make it a success. 'Utkal Dipika' was the first journal which was published in 1866,

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by the self-conscious Oriya readers.[497] Within ten years of the great famine of 1866, 16 journals were published by the missionaries and by others.[498] Journals like 'Shikhyaka,' 'Dharmabodhini,' Samskara,' 'Sarbaswa,' 'Utkal Samaskaraka,' 'Swadeshi,' 'Dhumaketu' etc. established that new ideas, new thoughts can be presented through professional journalism.[499]

It was clear that 'Taraka', 'Subhabarta,' 'Prabhatitara' and 'Prabahat' published by the missionaries were based on Christian ideals and philosophy. In the beginning these journals were educative and were full of anecdotes and stories. Though their real intention was to make the presence of Christianity felt through their circulation, its publication in the Oriya language encouraged literary activities amongst the Oriyas. It enriched Oriya literature.

P. Mukherjee in his book 'History of Orissa in the 19th Century mentioned that the "Christian periodicals mainly dealt with the topic of Christian religion."[500] Apart from evangelization it also made casual references to contemporary events.[501]

Sudhakar Pattnaik also has taken a different view about these missionary papers. These journals were "mostly monthlies, dealt generally with Christian religion, practically with little news or views of provincial interest. It was only the appearance of Utkal Dipika that we find news, views and grievances of the people of the province really ventilated."[502]

Christian literature in Oriya language and its influence on Oriya literature : The establishment of the Orissa Mission Press in 1838, by the missionaries encouraged them to indulge in writing and publishing Christian literature in Oriya language. Though it never attained the high standard of Oriya literateures the translation of English classics into Oriya language created an Anglo—Oriya literary involvement. John Bunyan's 'Pilgrim's Progress' was translated in 1838, by Rev. A. Sutton into Oriya language. it was named 'Swargiya Jatrira Britanta.' Prior to this Fellicom Carey the son of Rev. William Carey had translated this book into Bengali.[503] Sutton's Oriya translation of Bunyan's work had a distinct influence. It was re-edited several times and the revised edition was published in 1872. The first part of the revision was done by Mr. Shem Sahu and the second part by Ghanashyam Nayak.[504] The Classic 'Brooks, Precious Remedies against Satan's Devices' was translated into Oriya by Thomas Santra. It was known as 'Shayatanara Kalpana O' Tannibarak Upaya.'[505]

A lady missionary Mrs. Hanna Catherine Malense had contributed to Bengali literature when she published her first novel in Bengali named 'Phulmani O Karunara Bibaran' in 1852. She was working as a mis-

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sionary at Bhawanipur in Calcutta and had learnt Bengali.[506] In the preface of the book it is written - "It is a book specially intended for native Christian women. I have endeavoured to show in it the practical influence of Christianity on the various details of domestic life.[507] Rev. J. Stubbins (a missionary from Orissa) had translated this book to Oriya and its title was 'Phulmani O Karunara Bibaran.' The Annual Report of the Orissan Mission for the year 1857-58, Page 26 refers to this book of 210 pages being printed at the Orissa Mission Press. Five hundred copies were printed. In page 24 of the same report it has been mentioned that this publication is a masterpiece in vernacular literature and has been recommended as a textbook for schools.[508] Rev. Stubbins had also written two more books in Oriya language entitled 'Bhramanashaka' and 'Jati Mimansa.'[509]

'Malati O' Bhagyabati' was published in the style of 'Phulamani O' Karunara Bibaran.' Though the exact date of its publication is not known the seventh edition was published in 1913.[510] These books aimed at preaching Christianity. At the same time they presented an ideal Christian women and her role in domestic life. This must have been an attempt to reform Hindu women through Christian ideals.

W. J. Wilkins' book 'Breaking His Fetters' was translated into Oriya language. Famous as Pasachheda it was first published by the Madras Christiya Sahitya Committee. One thousand copies of this work was printed by the Orissa Mission Press in 1904.[511] Wilkins had also published other books like 'Hindu Mythology' and 'Daily life and work in India'. The author was aware of social and religious injustice prevalent in Hindu society. He had remarked against these kinds of evil practices.[512]

'Samayika' was a collection of short stories written by Jonathan Mohanty and published in 1937.[513] The Oriya novel 'Sebadharma' written by Puspakeshi Pradhan received an award in the Finlay Literary Competition for the year 1944. It was organised by the Bharatiya Christiya Parishad. In the preface of this book it was mentioned about this award- "This Book was awarded the first prize of the Finlay Prize Competition 1944, sponsored by the Utkal United Christian Literature Committee on behalf of the National Christian Council.[514]

Poetry was considered to be a very successful medium of popularising Christianity.

Therefore, missionaries wrote Oriya poems which were generally religious in nature. 'Jesu Bandana' (in praise of Lord Jesus) was an anthology of religious poems composed in the traditional ancient Oriya style of composing poems in eulogy of Lord Krishna - 'Krishna Bandana.' In the year 1895, a selection of Oriya poems by the native Chris-

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tians were edited by Rev. A. Sutton.[515] It was known as 'Dharma Sangita Samgraha.' The poems of the 19th century poets like Mukunda Das, Kartik Samal, Gangadhar Sarangi and Daniel Mohanty were included in this collection. It consisted of hundred poems and it was the first of its kind in Orissa.[516]

The lyrics of these collection of poems was distinctly English in style. The metres were composed in traditional fashion. The poet Mukunda Das had contributed the maximum number of songs to the collection of poems.[517] These poems were meant to be sung and being lyrical in nature proved to be highly emotional.

Rev. Sutton's poems 'Dharma Geeta' and 'Upasana Sangeeta' was also included in the 'Dharma Sangita Samgraha.' Rev. Lacey had also composed lyrical devotional (bhakti) songs in Oriya.[518] Towards the end of the nineteenth century Kartik Samal emerged as a successful Oriya poet who wrote devotional songs on Jesus Christ which were to be staged.[519] Gangadhar Sarangi and Ramachandra Jee Jachak also composed songs in similar style. Poet Christadas Mohanty's (1884-1960) poem 'Jesu Christa' and his long episodic poem 'Premamaya' enriched Christian literature in Oriya language.[520]

'Jesu Christa' consisted of 54 stanzas and had all the characteristics of medieval poetry. This poem was certainly influenced by Oriya poems like 'Rasakallol,' 'Bidagdha Chintamani' and 'Jagannath Janan.' Songs like 'Sagar Raul,' 'Johan Sahu' and 'Chintamani Das' were written for ministrel to be sung in villages. Plays, such as 'Apabyayi Patna' and 'Christajanma' were written to be staged at various places.[521]

Jonathan Mohanty had introduced many Oriya poems based on Christian themes in his book 'Upasana Sangeeta.' Other native Christians like Benjamin Pradhan and Balunkeshwar Pradhan had also written poems on Christ. Mrs. Benjamin Pradhan's poems were published in the Christian monthly periodical 'Pravati tara.' Another poetess of fame was Subarna Sahoo whose poems were also included in J. Mohanty's book 'Upasana Sangeeta.' She had also published a book 'Bhakti Kalika.'[522]

Christian literature consisting of autobiography, children's literature and plays relating to Christ developed mostly after independence.

In the year 1924, the Orissa Mission Press at Cuttack had published the second edition of a comparative account of the life and teachings of Jesus Christ and Prophet Mohammed. In this book Lord Jesus has been considered to be superior than Mohammed.[523]

The Oriya translation of the story of 'The Terrible Red Dwarf' was published in the year 1910. John Chandrasekhar Praharaj had written 'Satyadharma Parichay' in Oriya and Sanskrit. He had critisized the

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evils of Hinduism in the form of a conversation between the teacher and his pupil. In the year 1949 its third edition was published. In 1942, 'Christianara Dana' was also published. It contained the names of donors to the cause of Christianity in Asia. 'Utchharga' was written and published by Brajananda Mohanty in 1933-34.[524]

Christian poetry in Oriya language was a successful media in preaching. In Orissa people were accustomed to hearing songs in village fairs and gatherings in the temple premises.

Prose books in Oriya were required for schools as textbooks and a majority of these demands were fulfilled by the missionaries.

Oriya Prose - The rise and development of Oriya prose in the nineteenth century was chiefly due to the impact of western education and culture. It is however admitted that the Christian Missionaries were leaders in this field. Textbooks were written by them to run the mission schools founded by them. Christian religious tracts were published in journals like Jharana, Prabodh Chandrika and Arunodaya brought out by them. The products of the mission schools also encouraged the use of prose in education, administration and literature.[525]

In real terms the establishment of the Press in 1838, encouraged some kind of literary activity in Orissa. Before the arrival of the missionaries, literary development in Orissa existed in the form of mediaeval poetry. There was no printing press and manuscripts were only handwritten palm leaves. The miltary exploits of the Ganga and the Surya rulers had created political instability. The only unifying factor was the cult of Jagannath, the symbol of Hinduism. The missionaries encouraged literary works through their printing and publications.

The development of Christian literature in Oriya language definitely influenced Oriya literature.

Oriya prose writing took a definite shape under missionary guidance. The Orissa missionaries had first studied Bengali language to learn the Oriya language. Therefore, the prose written by the Orissa missionaries had a predominantly Bengali influence. Their sentence composition had some shortcomings. Punctuation marks were occasionally used in ancient Oriya prose works. Missionary writings liberally used punctuation marks like full stop, coma, hyphen, question mark and exclamation mark. Prose writing developed during this period of missionary activity in Orissa.[526]

The Brahmo Samajists had accepted Bengali as their media for preaching. Likewise the missionaries of Orissa had adopted a derogatory Oriya language as their religious language. Prof. Bansidhar Mohanty in his book 'Sahitya O Samskriti' has remarked about this perversions in Oriya language. Even Fakir Mohan Senapati in his biography 'Atmajivani' -

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"Bhikaribhai O Bible Samsodhan" has made a mockery of Padri language.[527] Later on the missionaries tried to make amends in sentence composition.

The eminent Oriya litterateur Pandit Nilakantha Das had acknowledged missionary contribution to Oriya prose writing. He believed that Oriya was not their mother tongue, hence their style did not achieve perfection. The deviations, however, brought some change in the traditional style and rescued it from a monotonous presentation.[528] Dr. Bansidhar Mohanty and Dr. Gopal Chandra Mishra had acknowledged the fruitful changes in Oriya prose due to missionary involvement.[529] Oriya poetry underwent significant changes due to Christian literature and it was distinct in the works of Poet Radhanath Ray, Bhaktakabi Madhusudan, playwright Ramshankar, novelist Fakirmohan Senapati, Pallikabi Nandakishore Bal etc. They were influenced by western literature and established a new era in Oriya literature. Western influence encouraged them to write nationalist literature. Poet Radhanath Ray's famous epics 'Usha,' 'Nandikeshwari,' 'Chilika' and 'Darbar,' Bhaktakabi Madhusudan's translation of 'William Cowpers.' The solitude of Alexander Selkirk into Oriya entitled 'Nirbasitara Bilap,' the novel 'Pranayara Adbhuta Parinam,' the introduction of free verse in Oriya poems by Ramashankar, and the composition of epic poems, Oriya plays written in the style of English plays which were in the form of social satires, Fakirmohan Senapati's satirical novels, short stories and poems, Nandakishore's 'Nanabaya Gita' composed in the style of English nursery rhymes were examples of English literary influence on Oriya literature.[530]

English romantic poems and poets definitely influenced modern Oriya poems. The poems of Utkalmani Gopabandhu Das, the poem 'Pranayini' (1919) translated by Pandit Nilakantha Das from English poet Tennyson's 'Enoch Arden,' his 'Das Nayak' poem (1923), Pandit Godabarish Mishra's 'Chayanika' (1932), his epic poems and novel 'Ghatantarao,' poetess Kuntala Kumari's poems which were composed in the style of Shelley, Keats and Browning's poems, Ajay Chandra Das's translation of English Poet, Sir Walter Scott's 'The Lay of the Last Ministrel' into 'Shesha Bandi Bharati' (1925), all these examples were influenced by the works of English poets.[531]

Translation work was first begun by the missionaries of Orissa. Though it was not of high quality this kind of beginning encouraged the Oriya writers to go for translation of English poems and works in Oriya language. In the process they were influenced by English presentations and modern thoughts.

'Jesus Christ' became a symbolic myth in Oriya literature of the nineteenth century. Fakir Mohan Senapati had come in contact with

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missionaries. As a teacher of the Balasore Mission School he had been acquainted with Rev. A. Miller and other Christian missionaries. His collection of poems 'Abasar Das' had many poems relating to Jesus Christ. His poem 'Jesuchrista' mentioned about Christ's sacrifice for humanity.[532]

The famous poet of the Green Age (Sabuja Jugiya) Baikuntha Charan Pattnaik had written a poem 'Christasmriti.' He had symbolised Christ as a man of suffering and sacrifice. The contemporary poet of the Green Age, Mayadhar Mansingh in his poem 'Bapu Tarpana' compares Jesus Christ and Mahatma Gandhi in terms of sacrifice and dedication for humanity. His other poems 'Krusha,' 'Krusha Koti Koti,' 'Sangramara Krusha' were also written in praise of Jesus Christ.[533]

The sufferings of Jesus Christ has been presented in Oriya literature. Modern Oriya poet, Sachidananda Routray is a brilliant and successful example of such reflective presentation in his poem 'Ashrugaurav.' Modern Oriya poets like Mayadhar Mansingh, Chintamani Behera, Paresh Chandra Rout, Ramakanta Rath, Saubhagya Mishra, Saroj Ranjan Mohanty, Umashankar Pandey have presented Jesus Christ as a symbol in their poems.[534]

The rich traditional life of Orissa degenerated due to political instability during the middle ages. The missionaries yearned for a new and modern society through their writings.

Social regeneration was also their topic in their literary creations. Oriya writers were also influenced. The quest for social changes were evident in the play 'Babaji' of Jaganmohan Lala (1877), and in Ramashankar's plays, Budhabar (1882), 'Jugadharma' (1907). In Ramashankar's play 'Lilabati' (1912) there is reference to women education and child marriage. Playwright Bhikaricharan has presented his eagerness to bring social changes through social plays like 'Samsar Chitra' (1915), 'Sushila' (1917) and 'Jautuka' (1924). This intention was also prominent in Fakir Mohan Senapati's social novels 'Chhaman Attaguntha,' 'Mamu' and 'Prayaschita.' Senapati's short stories 'Rebati,' 'Garudi Mantra,' 'Patent Medicine' and 'Sabhya Jamindar' all aimed at eradicating the evils of the existing traditional Oriya society. The missionary spirt of bringing social changes encouraged the nationalist writers.[535]

Modern Oriya prose and poetry was influenced by Christ consciousness. The sacrifice, concern for humanity and idealism of Christ was reflected in their works in a subtle way. The concept morality, death, judgement etc. were indirectly influencing Oriya literature. This kind of reflection was conspicuously absent in their previous works. Christian idealism and Christian consciousness were accepted as concepts and

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themes in the various works of Oriya literate. The linguistic contribution of the missionaries was enormous.

The British Baptist Missionaries gave the tribals of the Kond Hills their spoken language (Kui), a written script. When Captain Campbell and Macpherson established schools there was no script and grammar book to follow the Kui language.

The missionary in the Kond Hills, Mr. O. J. Millman had teaching experience for six years in William Carey's College at Serampore in Bengal. He decided to have a script for Kui language.[536]

Captain Frye and Dr. Cadenhead of the East India Company in the 1840's used Oriya script in Kui works. It was Millman who substituted a Roman type of Script excluding the 'C', 'q' and 'y'.[537] Kui was a Dravidian language with much resemblance to Telugu, Tamil and Kanarese in grammar[538] whereas Oriya was Sanskritic and was linked with the Indo-Aryan languages of Northern India.[539]

Though the educated Kond could read Oriya it was felt that the Christians should be able to read the Bible in their own Kui language. In 1892, Wilkinson had completed the translation of St. Mark's Gospel into Kui. But he had used the Oriya script. It was published by the British and Foreign Bible Society and printed at the Mission Press.[540]

The only religious book in Kui language was the translation of 'Heberlet's Way of Salvation' by Arthur Long. It had more Oriya words than Kui. He called it Neggi Katha - The good story. He added to "Kondistan's tiny Christian literature available gift."[541] Luke Singh, a Russellkonda Christian helped Arthur in this translation work.[542] Millman translated it into pure Kui language.

In 1915, the Gospel of St. Mark in Kui was printed in the Roman script.[543] By 1936, the first and the second Corinthians of the New Testament in Kui using Roman script was ready for the press.[544] A hymn book was compiled containing 85 hymns and some were ready to be added when another edition was published.[545]

Millman had written Kui primer readers which were considered useful and published by the Government.[546]

As the British Baptists gave the Kond Hills people a script for their spoken language, so also the American Baptists worked amongst the Santals of Northern Orissa and introduced a script for their Santali language. Their literature was written at times in Bengali script or in Devanagari script and in Oriya script.

The new script for the Santali language was designed by the Missionaries by introducing Roman script and by adding different diacritical marks.[547] In 1852, the missionary, J. Phillips published in Santali 'An Introduction to the Santali language' using the Bengali script. He

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revised Oriya Geography for schools and translated the scriptures into Santali.[548] In 1854-55 he translated the book of Genesis with twenty chapters of Exodus, the Gospel of Mathew and a tract of twenty pages was also translated into Santali.[549]

On the basis of a survey conducted in 1932, it was estimated that more than three lakhs of tribals used Santali language. Rev. P. Bodeling had recorded 25,000 Santali words in this dictionary for Santals (Bhashakosh).[550]

A few professional books like the 'Medical Guide' (in Oriya) and the Medical Guide in Bengali were published in 1848 and 1852 respectively. These books were written by the American Baptist O. T. Robinson Bachelor[551] who had good knowledge of medicine and had opened a medical school and a hospital at Balasore.

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58. A. J. *Mills to Sudder Board of Revenue,* 13 April, 1846, Report on the Vernacular Education for 1845, B.R.A. Vol. July-December, 1846 No.704.
59. P. R. Sen, *Pooree English School.* J.B.O.R.S. 1941 P.4, Rickets to Sudder Board of Revenue, 7 December 1837 B.R.R. Vol. November-December 1837 No.2955.
60. M. S. Gilmore, *Magistrate, Cuttack to A. J. Mills,* 29 July 1846, O.S.A. Judicial No.104.
61. *Bihar and Orissa District Gazetteers - Cuttack by L.S.S.O'* Malley, I.C.S. Second Edition by E.R.J.R. Consins, I.C.S., P.212.
62. *Gazetteers of India, Orissa State* edited by N. C. Behuria, Vol.III, P.438.
63. W. W. Hunter, *Orissa,* Vol.II P.142
64. J. Peggs, *A History of the General Baptist Mission,* P.197.
65. A Sutton, *Orissa and its Evangelization,* P.317.
66. *Gazetteers of India,* Orissa State edited by N. C. Behuria, Vol.III, P.438.
67. *Ibid.,* P.439.
68. *A Sutton,* Orissa and its Evangelization, Opcit P.318
69. J. C. E., *Orissa - Baptist Mission,* P.194.
70. A. Sutton, *A Narrative of the Mission to Orissa. Opcit* PP. 80, 81, 89, 277, 435.
    J. Peggs, *A History of the General Baptist Mission Opcit* PP.235-36.
71. M.A.Sherring, *The history of Protestant Mission in India,* P. 152. The A.F.W.B.S. had established 78 schools with 1,679 pupils of both sexes.
72. *The General Baptist Repository and the Missionary Observer Vol.-XIV (Derby, G.B.M.S. 1835),* P.97.
73. *General Report of Public Instruction (1869-70),* P.102. In 1869-70, in Orissa, there were 95 schools attended by 5065 pupils out of which 11 were missionary schools attended by 1,467 pupils.
74. P. K. Patra, *Orissare Baptist Missionary Societyra Karya 1822-1942,* P. 150.
75. *The Indian Year Book,* 1928, P.465.
76. B. Holmes, *Educational Policy and the Mission Schools,* P.26. (In the village schools the children were taught to master the 3R's plus religious scripture)
77. P. K. Patra, *Orissare Baptist Missionary Soceityre Karya 1822-1942,* P.19
78. J. Peggs, *A History of the General Baptist Mission,* PP.197-98
79. P. K. Patra, *Orissare Baptist Missionary Societyra Karya 1822-1942,* P. 19
80. J. Peggs, *A History of the General Baptist Mission,* PP.197-98.
81. J. C. E., *Orissa Baptist Mission,* P.263.
82. B. Mohanty, *Orissare Paschatya Shikshyara Prabartana.* Prajatantra 23rd August, 1953.
83. J. Peggs, *A History of the General Baptist Mission,* P.198.
84. J.C.E., *Orissa Baptist Mission,* P.37 (In the beginning there were no Oriya Christians. Therefore Hindu teachers were appointed. Mrs. Sutton, Mrs, Lacey looked after the village schools).
85. B. Mohanty, *Orissare Paschatya Shikshyara Prabartana* - Prajatantra 23rd August, 1953.
86. P. K. Patra, *Orissare Baptist Missionary Societyra Karya 1822-1942,* P. 19.
    B. Mohanty, *Orissare Paschatya Shikshyara Prabartana* - Prajatantra 23rd

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August, 1953. (It is stated that the total number of students was 305).
87. A. Sutton, *A Narrative of the Mission to Orissa.*, P.89.
88. J. Peggs, *An Appeal to the Society of Friends, Opcit*, P.23.
89. J. Peggs, *A History of the General Baptist Mission*, P.215.
90. *Ibid*, P.308. Sixty six of them could read the New Testament, had memorised the History of Christ, some religious tracts and poem and learned to write on palm leaves or talla patra.
91. J. C. E., *Orissa - Baptist Mission*, P.38
92. *Ibid.*, P.264.
93. A Sutton, *Orissa and its Evangelization*, P.232.
94. *Ibid*
95. General Report on Public Instruction in the Lower Provinces of Bengal (1857-58). From Statistical Returns (Calcutta: The Bengal Secretariat Book Depot, 1858) PP.115-16.
96. P. K. Patra, *Orissare Baptist Missionary Societyra Karya - 1822-1942*, P.63.
97. *The Minutes of the Orissa Missionary Conference* (Nov. 1916) Cuttack O.M.P. 1921, P.261.
98. *Ibid.*, (Feb. 1921) Cuttack O. M. P. 1921, P.20.
99. *The Missionary Observer* (March, 1884) W. Hill (Derby: GBMS, 1884), P.113.
100. W. W. Hunter, *A Statistical Account of Bengal Vol-XIX District of Puri & the Orissa Tributary States*, 1877, P.170.
101. *Quinquennial Report 1932-36 of the Baptist Missionary Society and the Associated Baptist Church Organisation* etc. (Cuttack: O.M.P., 1937), P.67.
102. D. S. Wells, *One hundred and fiftieth anniversary of the B.M.S. in India* (1792 - 1942), P.131.
103. B. M. Boal, *The Church in the Kond Hills*, P.61.
104. *Report on the Progress of Education in Orissa for the year* 1940-41, P.62.
105. B. M. Boal, *The Konds*, P.181. B. M. Boal, *The Church in the Kond Hills*, P.63.
106. D. S. Wells, *One hundred and fiftieth anniversary of the B.M.S. in India (1792-1942)*, P.131.
107. *The Orissa District Gazetteers*, Bolangir edited by N. Senapati and N. K. Sahu, P.105.
108. *Baptist Missionary Society Annual Report and Statement of Accounts for the 138th Year etc.*, P.79.
109. P.K.Patra, *Odissare Baptist Missionary Societyra Karya*, P.158
110. Old Log Book of Baptist Mission Schools, Berhampur (M.S.), P. 2.
111. Rev. B. H. Badley, *Indian Missionary Directory and Memorial Volume*, P.166.
112. Rev. M.A.Sherring, *The history of Protestant Missions in India*, P.152.
113. W. W. Hunter, *A statistical Account of Bengal (Districts of Cuttack and Balasore) Vol.XVIII*, P.358.
114. *Report of the Canadian Baptist Mission July 1914 - June* 1915, PP.40-41.
115. B. Mohanty, *Orissare Paschatya Shikshyara Prabartana - Prajatantra* 2nd/3rd August 1953.
116. B. Holmes, *Educational Policy and the Mission Schools*, PP.25-26.

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117. *Ibid*, P.26. (Later on the monitorial system of teaching, developed by Bell and approved by the Church of England and Lancaster was introduced in some Charity schools).
118. P. K. Patra, *Orissare Baptist Missionary Societyra Karya 1822 - 1942*, PP.19-20.
119. *Ibid.*
120. D. P. Pattnaik, *Kabilipi*, P.5.
121. J. Peggs, *A History of the General Baptist Mission*, P.199.
122. *Ibid*, P.312.
123. J. Peggs, *A History of the General Baptist Mission*, PP. 312-13 B. Mohanty, Orissare Paschatya Shikshyara Prabartan - Prajatantra 2nd/3rd August 1953.
124. J. Peggs, *A History of the General Baptist Mission*, P.313.
125. J. Peggs, *A History of the General Baptist Mission*, P.313. B. Mohanty, Orissare Paschatya Shikshyara Prabartana - Prajatantra 2nd/3rd August, 1953.
126. J. Peggs, *A History of the General Baptist Mission*, P.313.
127. *Ibid.*, P.314.
128. William Adam, *Report on the State of Education in Bengal* (1835-38) edited by A. N. Basu, PP.54-55.
129. J. Peggs, *A History of the General Baptist Mission*, P.216.
130. B. Mohanty, *Orissare Paschatya Shikshyara Prabartana*, Prajatantra, 2nd/ 3rd August, 1953.
131. J. Peggs, *A History of the General Baptist Mission*, P.314.
132. *Ibid.*
133. *Ibid*, P.315.
134. *Letters issued from June to August*, 1840, Vol. 72, 35 - 37 (M.S.)
135. General Report on Public Instruction in the Lower Provinces of Bengal Presidency (1851-52) from statistical Returns (Calcutta : Bengal Secretariat Book Depot, 1852) Vol. C L II - C L III.
136. P. K. Patra, *Orissare Baptist Missionary Societyra Karya (1822 - 1942)*, PP.152 - 53.
137. In 1881 the Civil Surgeon of Cuttack thought for the Anglo-Indian Community as Dr. Barnardo thought for the ragged street boys of England One hundred and fiftieth anniversary of the B. M. S. in India, P.125.
138. M. Behera, *Growth and Development of Education under the Baptist Missionaries in Orissa* 1822-1947 typed P.334.
139. Sushama Bardhan, *Stewartonians*, The First to Fourth Generations etc., Centenary Celebration 1982, Stewart School, Cuttack, P.137.
140. *The Missionary Observer - September*, 1881 edited by W. Hill, PP. 359-60 (Derby : GBMS 1881).
141. Centenary Celebration 1982, *Stewart School*, Cuttack (Cuttack : Archana Press, 1982), P.12.
142. B. Holmes, *Educational Policy and the Mission Schools*, P.29.
143. J. K. Samal, *History of Education in Orissa*, Preface(X)
144. P. K. Patra, *Orissare Baptist Missionary Societyra Karya*, P.154 Dasarathi

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Rout was the son of Parsu Rout. The teacher Robert Patra was the son of Siba Patra.

145. *Ibid.*, PP.157-58.
146. D. S. Wells, *One hundred and fiftieth anniversary of the B.M.S. in India*, P.128.
147. *Orissa District Gazetteers*, Sambalpur edited by N. Senapati and B. Mohanty, P. 452
148. P. K. Patra, *Orissare Baptist Missionary Soceityra Karya*, P.159.
149. A statistical Account of Bengal (Districts of Cuttack and Balasore) W.W.Hunter, Vol.XVIII, P.357.
150. Rev. B. H. Badley, *Indian Missionary Directory and Memorial Volume*, P.166.
151. Report on the progress of Education in Bihar and Orissa for the year 1920-21. In the last years returns the Baptist Mission School was stated as M. V. School.
152. *Utkal Dipika*, 3rd April 1869, P.55. Vol. II, 1. 1. 1869 - 25. 12. 1869.
153. *Utkal Dipika* - 5th Feb., 1870.
154. B. M. Boal, *The Konds*, P.181.
155. D. S. Wells, *One hundred and fiftieth anniversary of the B.M.S. in India*, P.131.
156. *Orissa District Gazetteers*, Sundergarh edited by N. Senapati and D. C. Kuanr, P.74.
157. A. Sutton, *A Narrative of the Mission to Orissa, Opcit*, P. 399. J. Peggs, *A History of the General Baptist*, Op. cit.
158. *Catholic Herald of India*, August, 1910, *Opcit*, PP.511-12.
159. *One hundred and fiftieth anniversary of the B.M.S. in India*, P.129.
160. *On Christian Missions in Orissa*, C.C.O. N.S.Vol.X No.120-OS Vol.XVIII No. 211 December 1849, P.566
161. J. Peggs, *A History of the General Baptist Mission*, P.337.
162. *Ibid*, P.339
163. Quinquennial Report on the progress of Education in Orissa for the Quinquennium 1942-47, PP.27-28.
164. Report on the progress of Education in Bihar and Orissa for the year 1920-21, No.95, P.17.
165. M. Behera, *Growth and Development of Education under the Baptist Missionaries in Orissa*, typed P.351.
166. P. K. Patra, *Orissare Baptist Missionary Societyra Karya*, P.155.
167. P. K. Patra, *Orissare Baptist Missionary Societyra Karya*, P.155.
168. M. Behera, *Growth and Development of Education under the Baptist Missionaries in Orissa*, typed PP.357-58. P.K.Patra, *Orissare Baptist Missionary Societyra Karya*, P.155.
169. M. Behera, *Growth and Development of Education under the Baptist Missionaries in Orissa*, typed PP.365-66.
170. *The Bengal District Gazetteer*, Balasore edited by L.S.S.O.' Malley, P.55.
171. *Tidings: American Baptists*, Annual Report No.1, March, 1941, Vol.-19, PP.38-39.
172. *Orissa District Gazetteers*, Bolangir by N. Senapati and N. K. Sahu, P. 105.

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173. B. Holmes, *Educational Policy and the Mission Schools*, P.29.
174. D. M. Albaugh, *The Light in India's Hand*, P.102.
175. *Ibid.*
176. S. M. Pathak, *American Missionaries and Hinduism*, P.162.
177. Report on the Progress of Education in the Orissa division for the Quinquennium ending 31 March, 1907, Para, 4.
178. The Second Quinquennial Review of the progress of Education in Bihar and Orissa 1st April 1917 to 31st March 1922, P.96.
179. The Second Quinquennial Review of the Progress of Education in Bihar and Orissa, 1st April 1917 to 31st March, 1922, P.96.
180. Quinquennial Report on the Progress of Education in Orissa for the quinquennial 1942-47, P.47. Orissa School of Engineering was run by the Government.
181. D. M. Albaugh, *The Light in India's Hand*, P.102.
182. *Ibid.*
183. Rev. M. A. Sherring, *The history of Protestant Missions in India*, P.152.
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185. *Quinquennial Report on the Progress of Education in Orissa for the quinquennial 1942-47*, P. 47.
186. *Fourth quinquennial Review on the Progress of Education in Bihar and Orissa 1927-32*, Chapter. VIII.
187. *Report on the Progress of Education in Orissa for the year 1940-41*, P. 41 (No. 170).
188. *Report on the Progress of Education in Orissa for the year 1943-44*, P. 30.
189. *One hundred and fiftieth anniversary of the B.M.S. in India*, P.127.
190. *Ibid.*
191. *Report on the Progress of Education in Orissa for the year 1936-37*, P.35 (No.104)
192. *Ibid.*, P.29 (No.78), P.35 (No.104).
193. *Ibid.*, P.35 (No.104).
194. *Report on the Progress of Education in Orissa for the year 1939-40*, P.37 (No.101).
195. *Quinquennial Report 1932-36 of the Baptist Missionary Society*, P.70.
196. *The Bengal District Gazetteer, Balasore edited by L.S.S.O'* Malley, P.55.
197. D.S. Wells, *One hundred and fiftieth anniversary of the B.M.S: in India*, P. 130.
198. *Orissa District Gazetteers*, Bolangir by N. Senapati and N. K. Sahu, P. 105.
199. D.S. Wells, *One hundred and fiftieth anniversary of the B.M.S. in India*, P. 130.
200. B.M. Boal, *The Konds*, P. 187.
201. B.M. Boal, *The Church in the Kond Hills*, P. 63.
202. J.Das, *Sambalpur Zillare Christadharmara Ayarombha O' Pragati*, P. 39.
203. *General Report of Public Instruction 1874-75*, Para 597, P.111. Santipur is situated a few miles away from Jellasore in Northern Orissa.

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205. *A Statistical Account of Bengal (Districts of Cuttack and Balasore)* - W. W. Hunter Vol.-XVIII, PP.357-58.
206. *Gazetteers of India, Orissa State,* edited by N. C. Behuria, Vol. III, P.44.
207. *Missionary Herald May, 1895 Opcit* PP.168-69.
208. Rev. B. H. Badley, *Indian Missionary Directory and Memorial Volume,* PP. 166-67.
209. *On Christian Missions in Orissa,* C.C.O. N.S. Vol-X No.120 - O. S. Vol-XVIII No.211 December 1849, P.556.
210. A. Sutton, *Orissa and its Evangelization,* PP.314-15.
211. *Ibid.,* P.315.
212. *Ibid.*
213. Rev. B. H. Badley, *Indian Missionary Directory and Memorial Volume.*
214. A. Sutton, *Orissa and its Evangelization,* P.315.
215. Annual General Administration, Report of the Orissa Division (1875-76), P.106.
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218. *Ibid.*
219. *Gazetteer of India, 1992, Orissa State, Vol.III,* PP.449, 50. (edited by N. C. Behuria)
220. Mr. I. L. Sinha, *A short history of the Sanat Nalini Girls' High School,* P.2.
221. *Ibid.*
222. *Ibid.*
223. A Sutton, *Orissa and its Evangelization,* PP.250-51.
224. *Ibid.,* P.251.
225. S. M. Pathak, *American Missionaries and Hinduism,* P.66.
226. *Ibid.,* PP.61-62.
227. O' Malley, *Modern India and the West : A Study of the Interaction of their Civilization,* P.688.
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229. *Ibid.*
230. *Ibid.*
231. J. C. E., *Orissa - Baptist Mission,* PP.267-68.
232. *Ibid.,* P.268.
233. A. Sutton, *Narrative of the Orissa Mission,* PP.168-69.
J. Peggs, *A History of the General Baptist Mission,* PP.289-99.
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235. *Twenty-ninth Annual Report of the Society for Promoting Female Education in the East,* January 1863, P.12.
236. P. I. *Report 1874-75,* P.515.
237. *Ibid.*
238. *Ibid.*
239. J. K. Samal, *History of Education in Orissa - Preface.*

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240. J. K. Samal, *Orissa under the British Crown*, P.98.
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242. *Gazetteer of India, Orissa State, Vol. III*, edited by N. C. Behuria, P.443.
243. P. K. Patra, *Orissare Baptist Missionary Societyra Karya*, PP.152-53.
244. A. Sutton, *Orissa and its Evangelization*, P.233.
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246. *The Missionary Observer*, August 1881, PP. 318-19.
247. P.K. Patra, *Orissare Baptist Missionary Societyra Karya*, P. 156.
248. *Report on the Progress of Education in Orissa for the year 1937-38*. Suptd. Govt. Press, Orissa, P.33 (No.132).
249. *Report on the Progress of Education in Orissa for the year 1938-39*. Suptd. Govt. Press, Orissa, Cuttack, 1946. P.37 (No.114).
250. I. L. Sinha, *A Short History of the Sanat Nalini Girls' High School, Cuttack* (Pamphlet), P.1.
251. I. L. Sinha, *A Short History of the Sanat Nalini Girls' High School, Cuttack* (Pamplet), PP.3-6.
252. *Ibid*, P.6. (The school had a strength of 324 students in July, 1956)
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255. A. Sutton, *Orissa and its Evangelization*, P.297.
256. W. W. Hunter, *A Statistical Account of Bengal (Districts of Cuttack and Balasore)*, Vol-XVIII, PP.353, 358.
257. *A Statistical Account of Bengal (Districts of Cuttack and Balasore)*, W. W. Hunter Vol-XVIII, P.358.
258. *Ibid*, P.359.
259. F. M. Senapati, *Autobiography*.
260. *Old log Book of Balasore Mission Girl's School*, PP.2-3.
261. *The Second Quinquennial Review of the progress of Education in Bihar and Orissa 1st April, 1917 to 31st March 1922*, P.106 (No.232)
262. *The Old log Book of Balasore Mission Girl's School*, P.7.
263. *Report on the Progress of Education in Orissa for the year 1936-37*, No.97, P. 34.
264. *Report on the Progress of Education in Orissa for the year 1937-38*, P.32 (No.124).
265. *Report on the Progress of Education in Orissa for the year 1940 - 41*, P.54, No.227.
266. *Orissa Historical Research Journal Vol.XV 1967, Nos.1-2*, P.123.
267. *A statistical Account of Bengal (Districts of Cuttack and Balasore)*, W. W. Hunter Vol.XVIII, P.358.
268. *A Statistical Account of Bengal (Districts of Cuttack and Balasore)*, W. W. Hunter, Vol. XVIII, P.358.
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270. Marianne Lewis, *A Plea for Zenanas Pamphlet* (London: 1866)
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273. *General Report of Public Instruction*, 1871-72, PP.377-80.
274. *Ibid.*, P. 380. *Gazetteers of India, Orissa State Vol.III*, edited by N. C. Behuria, P.443.
275. *General Report of Public Instruction*, 1874-75, Para 515, P.98.
276. *Ibid.*, 1880-81, Para 236, P.83.
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278. *Report on the progress of Education in Orissa for the year 1936-37*, P.35 (No.103).
279. *Report on the Progress of Education in Orissa for the year 1937-38*, P. 34 (No.135).
280. *Report on the Progress of Education in Orissa for the year 1938-39*, P.37 (No.117).
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282. *The Missionary Observer (July 1888)*, edited by W. Hill (Derby GBMS, 1888), P.276.
283. *Report on the Progress of Education in Orissa for the year 1938-39*. P.37 (No.117).
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285. *Ibid.*
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287. P. K. Patra, *Orissare Baptist Missionary Societyra Karya* (1822-1942), P.17.
288. J. Peggs, *A History of the General Baptist Mission*, P.197.
289. *The Missionary Observer (April 1882)* edited by W. Hill P. 159.
290. P.K. Patra, *Orissare Baptist Missionary Societyra Karya*, P. 161.
291. *Satavarsiki Smaranika*, Cuttack Sunday School (1874-1974). P. 9.
292. William Ortan, *Notes from my Diary. The Missionary Observer* (March, 1887), PP.117-118.
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294. *The Missionary Observer (July 1885)* edited by W. Hill, P.278
295. Smaranika 1977, *One hundred two years of Oriya Sunday School*, Berhampur, P.7.
296. P. K. Patra, *Orissare Baptist Missionary Societyra Karya*, PP. 162-163.
297. *Ibid.*, P.163.
298. *Quinquennial Report of the Baptist Missionary Society and the Associated Baptist Church Organisation 1932 - 36*, P.54.
299. *Quinquennial Report of the Baptist Missionary Society and the Associated Baptist Church Organisation 1932-36*, P.54.
300. *Report of the Kond Hills Church Unions, Annual Reports of the District*

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Union for 1933, Appendix - B, PP.45-46.
301. Barbara M. Boal, *The Church in the Kond Hills - An encounter with Animism*, P.105.
302. *Report of the Canadian Baptist Mission, July to June, 1914-15*. Table-II.
303. P. K. Patra, *Orissare Baptist Missionary Societyra Karya*, P. 160.
304. *Ibid.*
305. *Ibid.*
306. S. M. Pathak, *American Missionaries and Hinduism*, P.66.
307. *A. Sutton, Orissa and its Evangelization*, P.226.
308. *Ibid.*
309. A. Sutton, *Orissa and its Evangelization*, P.227.
310. D. S. Wells, *One hundred and fiftieth anniversary of the B.M.S. in India*, P. 124.
311. P. K. Patra, *Orissare Baptist Missionary Societyra Karya*, P.142.
312. C. C. O., *New Series Vol.X No.120* - Old Severs vol. XVIII No. 211. On Christian Missions in Orissa (Dec.1849), P.556 (An address delivered at the Monthly Missionary Prayer-Meeting in the Circular Road Chapel, Calcutta, November the 5th, 1849, by the Rev. J. Mullers: with additions)
313. A. Sutton, *Orissa and its Evangelization*, PP.227-28.
314. P. K. Patra, *Orissare Baptist Missionary Societyra Karya*, P. 144.
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316. S. Pattnaik, *Orissa in 1866, O.H.R.J. Vol. IX*, October & January, 1961, Nos. 3 & 4, P.73
317. J. Clifford, *"The Orissa Mission,"* J. B. Myers edited The Centenary Volume of the Baptist Missionary Society (1792-1892), P.260.
318. W. W. Hunter, *'Orissa' Vol.II*, PP.142-43.
319. A Sutton, *Orissa and its Evangelization*, P.228.
320. *Ibid*, P.229.
321. J. Clifford, *"The Orissa Mission"* J. B. Myers edited, Centenary Volume of the Baptist Missionary Society (1792-1892), P.299.
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323. *Shelter Work in India - Pamphlet.*
324. A. Sutton, *Orissa and its Evangelization*, P.232.
325. J. Peggs, *A History of the General Baptist Mission*, P.325.
326. A. Sutton, *Orissa and its Evangelization*, P.232.
327. *Ibid.*
328. *Statistical Return of Aided vernacular schools of the lower class "No.XI General Report on Public Instructions in the lower provinces of the Bengal Presidency* (1868-69)." P.53.
329. J. Peggs, *A History of the General Baptist Mission*, PP.277, 87.
330. C. C. O., N. S. Vol. X, No. 120, O.S. Vol. XVIII, No.211 December, 1849, P.556
331. J. Peggs, *A History of the General Baptist Mission*, PP.309-10.

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VI

MISCELLANEOUS LABOURS OF THE MISSIONARIES

When Christianity entered the religious premises of Orissa in the early 19th Century, Hinduism existed in full force in Orissa and the worship of Jagannath was universal.[1] According to Sutton "Hindooism is a term commonly applied to the system of religion professed and practised by the multitudinous population of India, a system all but infinite in extent and unparalleled in intricacy."[2] In its widest form it embraces Buddhism and Brahminism.[3]

World religions like Jainism, Buddhism and Islam had footholds in Orissa. Christianity gained entry in the last.

Though the early Vinaya texts, the Nikayas the Jatakas and the Buddhist Ceylonese work Dathadhatu Vamsa gave reference to the existence of Buddhism in Orissa it is easier to accept that it flourished after Ashoka's Kalinga War in 261 B.C. Ashoka, the Maurya ruler, personally did not preach Buddhism, yet it spread in Orissa under his royal patronage.[4]

The remnants of Ashokan architecture in Orissa were witness to the missionary activities started by Ashoka in Kalinga after its conquest.[5] The Buddhist ruins at Ratnagiri, Udayagiri and Lalitagiri gave evidence of the fact that monastic establishments started in these hills in the fifth and sixth century A.D.[6] Towards the seventh and eighth century A. D. Tantric Buddhism flourished in Orissa.[7] Tantric Buddhism received royal patronage from the Bhauma rulers of Orissa (seventh century A.D.). But Buddhism of this period showed signs of losing its identity and merged into Hinduism particularly into Saivism and Saktism.[8]

Jainism flourished in Orissa during the rule of King Kharavela of the Chedi dynasty.[9] After the fall of Kharavela's dynasty the chronicle of Orissa history until the seventh century A. D. is not traceable and Jaina monuments did not figure prominently amongst the architectural remains of this period. Dr. K. C. Panigrahi wrote "It seems

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that Jainism suffered an eclipse with the subsequent rise of Buddhism and Saivism in Orissa. It must be noted that Brahmanism remained a major religion of Orissa throughout ages, though Jainism and Buddhism had their periods of ascendenacy. The period of Jaina ascendency in Orissa was over at the beginning of the Christian era and then it continued to co- exist along with other religious sects."[10]

Saivism, Vaishnavism, Saktism and other cults were different facets of Brahmanical Hinduism practised in Orissa, Saivism flourished during the rule of the Bhaumakaras of Orissa and continued to exist during the period of Bhanja, Somavansi and Ganga rulers.[11] Like Saivism, Vaisnavism existed in Orissa in the early medieval period, i.e. during the imperial Gangas and the Suryavamsis but as a subsidiary religious manifestation.[12] Gradually the Suncult merged into Vaisnavism. Saktism also manifested itself in Orissa and continued as an independent religion.[13]

Before the Ganga rule in Orissa (2nd Century A.D.) Saivism, Vaisnavism and Saktism were accepted as religious practices. It was during the Ganga rule a synthesis of these three along with Buddhism, Jainism and other primitive cults were embodied in the cult of Jagannath and made it cosmopolitan. Even Muslims like Salabega and Haridas found solace in Jagannath.[14] In the words of Dr. K. C. Panigrahi - "The cult of Lord Jagannath is a composite one and the diverse elements that compose it, have got into at various stages of its development. Its composite character became well marked in the Ganga period."[15]

It is an accepted fact that the shrine of Jagannath gained popularity during the Ganga rule in the early part of the twelfth century. The present temple of Jagannath, at Puri was built possibly by Chodoganga Deva.[16] But tradition gives credit to Anangabhima Deva for constructing it.[17] This temple attracted pilgrims from all over the country.

The origin of the Jagannath shrine is shrouded in mystery and lacks authenticity. It is based on legends and literary sources. Prof. H. Von Stietencron made a reconsideration of some literary sources, both inscriptional and others dealing with the construction of the temple. He concluded that the probable date of the completion of the temple would be 1197 or 1198 A.D.[18]

The philosophy of Jagannath had varied interpretations through different stages. It was a synthesis of Bhakti, Jnana, Prema and Sadhana.[19] Jagannath was accepted as the Supreme Lord of the Universe and his spiritual empire was universal. According to K. C. Mishra— "Beginning from a dim historic past, the history of Jagannath has assimilated the essence of Hinduism, Jainism and Buddhism. The

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philosophy of Jagannath had to rejuvenate itself in different directions. In course of time, Jagannath, Vishnu and Buddha became ultimately the highest Deity of Hindus."[20]

In the words of P. T. Nair, "The worship of Jagannath, Puri is based on sycretism of different creeds such as animism, Jainism, Buddhism, Saivism, Tantricism and Vaishnavism. xxxxx All Hindu sects worship Jagannath, the lord of the Universe, at Puri. The followers of Sankaracharya, Ramananda, Kabir, Chaitanya and Nanak pay their homage to the great God. Even Digambar Jains flock to the temple at a certain season of the year. The supremacy of Lord Jagannath lies in His secularism."[21]

The Muslim conquests broke down the power of the native kings of Orissa, but it left very little impression on the people. As a result there were very few villages of pathans and Hinduism prevailed in great purity.[22] M. A. Haque acknowledges that the influence of Islam in Orissa was minimum as compared to other regions of India but presents the fact of Hindu-Muslim cultural assimilation. In the religious sphere the cult of Satyapir is popular in Orissa. The shrine of Quadam-i-Rasul at Cuttack and the Bokhari Sahib of Kaipadar and other Muslim shrines were dear to both Hindus and Muslims. Sal Baig, a Muslim was a devotee of Jagannath and wrote devotional poems in Oriya which became very popular.[23]

In general, the religious policy of the Muslims (1568-1715) was not quite favourable to the Hindu way of worshipping Gods and Goddesses in Orissa.[24] During the contest between the people of Orissa and the Moghuls, the idol of Jagannath was carried to a place of safety towards the south for fear of being dishonoured by the Muslims.[25] This kind of religious war fare came to an end when the tax on pilgrims was imposed and in return the worship of Jagannath was allowed to continue.[26] The devotion of Hindus towards Jagannath since centuries had made Jagannath a wealthy God.[27] According to W. W. Hunter - The Muhammedans spared so opulent a deity for the revenue that he could be made to yield. All other idols they smashed in pieces, and the common saying at this day is, that the noses and ears of the Hindu Gods dropped off at the sound of the Musalman Kettledrum. But Jagannath was too lucrative a property to be roughly handled.[28] "Under such circumstances religious antipathies, however strong on the part of the ruling power, yielded gradually to the consideration of self interest."[29]

Koran and Muslim laws offered the non-Muslims the choice between conversion and death. The earliest Muslim rulers adopted a policy of compromise. They taxed the non-Muslims and allowed them

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to survive in the name of religious toleration.[30] In this context, the tax represented "the rather anaemic character of Muslim rulers who wished to appear as orthodox agents of the Caliph and yet unwillingly compromised with the Hindu infidel."[31]

Babur and his successors had their individual policies relating to the pilgrim tax. Akbar abolished the tax in 1563, Jahangir encouraged the observance of Hindu religious festivals without the mention of a tax. Shah Jahan revived it to persecute the infidels and Aurangzeb declared it a tax not as a symbol of religious toleration but as a punitive measure.[32] The Subedar Murshid Quili Khan II wanted to end the religious warfare and take the benefit out of it by taxing the pilgrims. Previous to this, according to a Bengal Chronicle of 1786/7, the Khurda Rajas had a habit of protecting the temples' images from the wrath of the Muslims by hiding them in the hills across the Chilka lake. This resulted in no pilgrims to Puri, hence no revenue.[33] To make up the loss of revenue the Muslim invaders made a compromise and collected the pilgrim tax. The Muslims were believed to have gained a sum of £ 1,00,000 (nine lakhs of sicca rupees) annually from this tax.[34] The Marhattas gained control over the Jagannath temple in 1759 when the Raja of Khurda, Virakishoredeva defaulted on a personal debt. In order to overcome the deficit in temple accounts it was decided to continue the collection of the pilgrim tax which was estimated at 21/2 to 5 lakhs of rupees.[35]

The Marhattas, who succeeded the Moghuls in Orissa levied the tax.[36] The Marhattas were Hindus and encouraged the worship of Jagannath and richly endowed the God.[37] They brought the temple of Jagannath under their direct management and made arrangements for its maintenance. To make it a prosperous religious centre adequate facilities were given to the pilgrims. As a result the number of pilgrims increased and it added to the income of the Marhatta government.[38] In 1755, they granted an annual and regular payment for the support of the temple.[39] This grant came from the Pilgrim tax[40] which the pilgrims had to pay on their way to Puri. The inefficiency of the Marhatta administration led to a continuous deficit required for temple management. Hence they taxed the pilgrims.

When the British occupied Orissa in 1803, the Company's government had determined its religious policy of guarded neutrality towards its non-Christian subjects. The Code of Cornwallis had assured both the Hindus and the Muslims "free exercise of their religion."[41] This principle of religious non interference, and protection of Indian religions was known as the 'Compact.' It explained the ultimate rationalization for British rule in India.[42] Lord Wellesley, the Governor Gen-

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eral had directed the officers in charge of the operation not to hurt the religious sentiments of the people. He was aware of the relevance of the Jagannath temple to the Hindus, a sort of "eastern Jerusalem" for them.[43] He wrote to Campbell, "On your arrival at Juggernaut, you will employ every possible precaution to preserve the respect due to the Pagoda, and to the religious prejudices of the Brahmins and Pilgrims."[44] The Pilgrim Tax was retained by the British until it was abolished in 1840.[45]

The popularity of the Jagannath Temple and "the primitive strength of religious tradition in Orissa"[46] compelled the British to tax the pilgrims as an extension of their concern for the "free exercise of religion."[47] The inefficiency and abusive character of Maratha administration also made it necessary that provision should be made for the protection of the pilgrims.

In the beginning (1803-06) Wellesley suspended its collection pending further investigation. After three years it was revived, and revised after another three years. The resolution to reimpose the pilgrim tax was passed by the Governor General in Council on 3rd April, 1806.[48]

The old route for the pilgrims coming from the upper provinces was through the territories of the Rajas of Mayurbhanj and Nilgiri States. They levied taxes for their states. The pilgrim tax for the Marahatta Government was collected at a place called Khunta Ghat on the boarders of Mayurbhanj. Along this road to Atharnala Bridge at Puri, tahasildars were posted to collect tolls from the pilgrims passing through each station. In return these tahasildars granted them a pass with details of their number, rank, the amount paid etc. The pilgrims coming from the South to Puri were also subject to similar restriction.[49]

In spite of its suspension, taxes were collected by the states of Mayurbhanj and Nilgiri till the new Jagannath Road diverted the pilgrims from passing through these states. When the road was completed the Rani of Mayurbhanj claimed and obtained compensation from the government for the loss of revenue it suffered.[50] However early in 1805, they addressed the government for the re-imposition of the tax and got it sanctioned.[51] The Board of Commissioners decided to impose a moderate rate of collection of duties from the pilgrims giving the impression that heavy expenses following the maintenance of the Jagannath temple would be "regularly and permanently defrayed by government."[52] Accordingly the Regulation IV of 1806, was passed on 3rd April 1806, and the pilgrim tax was reimposed and James Hunter was appointed as the Collector of the tax on Pilgrims and Superintendent of the affairs of the temple at Puri.[53]

The collection of the tax involved the government in the adminis-

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tration of the Jagannath Temple.[54] A dyarchical system was established. The Regulation IV of 1809, and Regulation IX of 1810, gave the Raja of Khurda the power to superintend the temple but provided the government the right to discipline or dismiss the Raja against the appeal of the Temple Parichas.[55]

According to Sutton, the native Oriya sovereigns, the Marhattas and the Muslims considered the temple a "legitimate source of revenue and not as a burden on the state."[56] Therefore they provided grants for the support of the temple out of the proceeds of the pilgrim tax. The British government also took charge of the shrine expecting to make money out of the taxes extracted from pilgrims.[57] The British government "reimbursed itself by a pilgrim tax similar to that which had been always levied by the native governments."[58]

Christianity ardently believed in abstaining from idolatry, and Hinduism practised in Orissa was based on the principles of idolatry. The early Baptist Missionaries of Orissa in the primary stages of evangelization were not ready to make compromises with idolatry.[59]

The British government were in control of the administration of the Jagannath temple of Puri and collected pilgrim taxes from the pilgrims visiting Puri. The Baptists opposed this kind of state patronage to idolatry.

They realised that people's faith in Jagannath was the major hurdle in the success of evengelization. Jagannath as an institution was viewed as the greatest challenge to Christianity.[60]

The Baptists contention was that if the government severed its connection with the temple and collection of taxes, the temple could not be managed and will crumble. Missionary societies in Orissa, Bengal and in other parts of India as well as the societies in England sent petitions to the Government requesting the latter not to be associated with the idolatrous system in Orissa. This matter figured prominently in the parliamentary debates and enquiries. Finally the government succumbed to the missionary pressure and abolished the pilgrim tax in 1840. The annual grant to the temple by the government continued until 1863, and thereafter the government gave up temple management retaining only the responsibility to supervise.[61]

The Jagannath temple at Puri was a celebrated seat of worship for the Hindus of India. Every year thirteen festivals[62] were celebrated at Jagannath, but it was at the Car festival, Snanjatra and Swinging festival that attracted more pilgrims than ever. N. G. Cassels considered the swinging festival and the car festival to be very popular festivals.[63] Hunter suggested that geography and monsoon explained the popularity of these two festivals. Pilgrims from lower Bengal found it convenient to attend the car festival (Rath Jatra) whereas people

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from Northern India preferred the cold weather pilgrimage (Dola Yatra-Swinging festival) in March to be convenient. They returned to their native places before the summer season arrived.[64] The Car festival or Rath Yatra was celebrated during the rainy season, the ratha being considered as the symbol of human hilarity and vitality.[65] This festival takes place exactly in the day of Ashadha, Shukla Dwitiya i.e. the second day of the bright fortnight of the month of Asadha (June-July). On this day the deities, Jagannath, Balabhadra and Suvadra seated on huge wooden cars are dragged along the Grand Road to Sri Gundicha temple where they stay for a week. The return car festival or Bahuda Yatra is performed on Ashadha Shukla Dasami i.e. the tenth day of the bright fortnight. Thousands of pilgrims from all over India come to Puri to see this Yatra of the deities.[66]

At the Car festival of 1825, 225,000 pilgrims visited Puri. It varied annually from 50,000 to 300,000.[67] The tax levied by the British government was of higher character. They stationed guards at the two entrances to the town.[68]

The pilgrims were classified and the rates were levied accordingly.[69] The taxable pilgrims were categorised into four classes - laul jatries, nim lauls, bhurrungs and punj tirthees including persons of low caste who were not permitted to enter the temple according to the Hindu tradition,[70] but worshipped by remaining outside the temple.

The laul jatries passing through the Atharnala entry had to pay ten rupees and the same class entering from the southern point paid six rupees. Pilgrims of the second class of nim lauls from the north paid five rupees and the ones from the south paid three rupees. Pilgrims of the third and fourth category paid two rupees whether they came from the north or south.[71]

There was some relaxation in the collection of pilgrim tax. Some categories of people were exempted from paying the tax.

Carriers of holywater from the Ganges who brought it to Puri to be poured over the idol of Loknath were exempted from paying taxes.[72] Byragees, sunyasis, dundies, brahmacharies, mohunts, gosains, khomartees, nagas, servants of Europeans and traders (excepting for twelve days from the beginning of the Car Festival) were admitted free.[73] By exempting the traders on their visits to Puri "and hucksters of every sort, care was taken not to let the tax interfere with trade.[74] During the Marhatta rule persons born within the Baitarani River and Ganjam did not pay the pilgrim tax. This tradition affected the revenue collection of the British[75] because a sizeable population were exempted from payment of taxes.

It was therefore decided that these people be exempted except during

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the Dol and Rath Festivals which was then limited till Pipli in the north and Manickapatna in the south.[76] Kungals or pilgrims who are really poor, in certain prescribed ceremonies were allowed to enter free.[77] According to Regulation XI of 1810, which was passed on 27th April, 1810, the native military officers and sepoys and servants of the European officers on duty were exempted. Restriction was imposed in the hitherto exempted local pilgrims called 'Desis.'[78]

Apart from the government, a set of indigenous population received money from the people approved by the Government. The Collector of the Pilgrim Tax of Puri proposed to the British Government in Calcutta in March 1806, requesting to make a provision of a premium for the pundas who collected the pilgrims.[79] Independent of the pilgrim tax the pundas would collect the prescribed amount by themselves from the pilgrims. This was the system followed during the Marhatta rule.[80] The Pratiharies were allowed by the Marhatta government to collect from the pilgrims a fee of six annas.[81]

Colonel Phipps of the Bengal Infantry stationed at Puri in 1822, had said that the pariharis were a body of people who resided at Puri. They were governed by four sardars. Amongst them was the chief manager or the gomasta who attended the pilgrims at the main gate at Athara Nala.[82] Their subordinate agents were sort of pilgrim hunters known as Butwa who travelled in search of pilgrims and to bring them in groups to Puri. After reaching Puri the Butwa reported to the Parihari who took charge of the Pilgrims at the entry gate. The Pandas also did the job of the Pariharis.[83]

The Governor General in Council therefore approved of the proposal of the collector of the pilgrim tax and permitted the pundas to collect fees from the pilgrims which was exclusive of tax to be paid to the government.[84] This privilege given to the Pundas and Pariharis was misused and therefore it was decided by the government that the Collector was to "fix rates in which such fee should be levied, and publish the rates for general information at the temple, and in its vicinity."[85] Accordingly the Lal jatries coming either from the north or south paid three rupees to the Pariharis and Pandas as premium and the Nim Lauls paid one rupee and a half.[86] The government had favoured the continuance of this system to promote its own interest. This would definitely act upon the pariharis and pandas as an incentive to collect more pilgrims for their monetary benefit and would also increase the net collection of the pilgrims tax of the government. Pilgrim hunting became a lucrative trade for the servants of the temple.

At times they utilised the low caste Hindus of Bowra caste as agents to Hindu houses. The untouchables gained entry into these houses[87]

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because of the hungry desire of the pandas. These pilgrim taxes were also collected by the British Government from famous holy places like, Gaya, Allahabad[88] and Tirupati.[89]

With the government's sanction, the Hindus from all over India flocked to Puri in large numbers to attend the annual Car festival and other festivals held in different times of the year. Pilgrims died in large numbers due to exhaustion, sickness etc. on their way to and from Puri. There were also instances of self immolation under the Car during the Car festival. The tax was also an additional burden to the pilgrims who were lured "coerced and harassed by the unscrupulous tax collectors stationed at various toll gates."[90]

The revenue from this collection was utilised for the temple, construction of roads to and from Puri, construction of sarais along the road, and upkeep of hospital for the pilgrims.[91]

The government also planted mango and other tress to provide shade to pilgrims and travellers. Zamindars were asked to plant such trees along the road that passed through their states.[92]

The revenue from the pilgrim tax was an important item in the British revenue collection from Orissa.[93] The total tax collected between Ist January, 1806 and 30th April, 1807 was stated to have been Rs.2,05,608.[94] In 1825, a sum of Rs.2,60,000 was collected as tax.[95] Between the years 1805-1827, the average income of the British government from the pilgrim tax was about 1 lakh rupees annually. After deducting the temple expenses the income was on an average Rs.47,111-10 annas per annum.[96] Hunter stated that between 1810-1831 the balance revenue was Rs.139,000 or £ 6619 per year after the deduction of gross returns.[97] Roughly the annual income from the pilgrim tax on an average was 50,000 rupees.[98]

The government acted as the church warden for Indian religions and religious practices. On the other hand it received revenues in the form of pilgrim tax. From the missionary point of view it was acknowledged as a state patronage of idolatry whereas the government treated it as a political expediency to stabilize the British administration in India.

The Baptist Missionaries of Orissa, James Peggs, W. Bampton, A. Sutton and other missionaries of the B.M.S. vehemently opposed the British government's connection with the Jagannath temple.[99]

The first to attack the government on this issue was Rev. Claudius Buchanan, the Company's Chaplain.[100] In 1806, the latter during his visit to South India happened to pass through Puri and witnessed the Car festivals which took place that year on 20th July.[101] He registered the happenings at Jagannath in his treatise 'Christian Research-

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es in Asia.' Before the publication of Buchanan's account the English people were ignorant of the real character of Hinduism. Rather they had been attracted by Hinduism. Zephania Holwell, the Black Hole Survivor, wrote and realised and " commended in the highest strain of eulogy, the simple, the rational, the sublime religion of Brahma."[102] "Little had been heard until the early part of the present century when Claudius Buchanan set it agoing."[103] He also bitterly criticized the government for levying the pilgrim tax and associating itself with idolatry.[104] Buchanan in his treatise "Colonial Ecclesiastical Establishment" considered it offensive on the part of the Christians to collect money from idolators and to fill the coffers of the national treasury.[105] Buchanan cited examples from their religious scriptures. He mentioned when the Jewish Sanhedrim received thirty pieces of silver from Judas they said "It is not lawful to put them into the treasury, because it is the price of blood." The Sanhedren were not guilty of the deed, but they considered it unlawful to put this price of blood (a sum given for another man's sin) to be deposited in the national treasury. In the same light the tribute levied on idol worship was to be treated as the "price of idolatry" and stained in blood should not be considered for the public treasury.[106] In the words of Buchanan "The English Government is not itself guilty of idolatry, but to receive money from the Natives for permission to worship the idol, and to apportion a certain sum for the expenses and decoration of the idol, is certainly to countenance, in some degree, the act of idolatry in others. XXX The transaction is not decorous in a Christian Government. It has the appearance of evil."[107]

Rev. Buchanan wrote a letter to George Udney, member of Governor General's Council mentioning the atrocities at Jagannath and another letter was addressed to the senior Chaplain in Bengal, "in which he penned graphic statements respecting the gigantic outrage upon all that is dear to God and Man, which had since made thousands of Christians mourn over the connextion of Britain with those abominations."[108] He also addressed a memorial to the Governor General challenging the Government's association with idolatry.[109]

Rev. Buchanan in his treatise or short extract entitled 'Christian Researches in Asia' published in 1811, presented the plight of the pilgrims and the behaviour of the Pandas. In his words "Numbers of pilgrims die on the road, and their bodies generally remain unburied. On a plain, by the river near the pilgrims,' caravanser, at this place, Budruck (100 miles from Jugernaut), there are more than a hundred skulls, the dogs, jackals, and vultures, seem to live here on human preys. Wherever I turn my eyes, I meet death in some shape or

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other."[110] He also described the situation of the self immolation of a person who was crushed to death under the wheels of the car in front of onlookers.[111] He stated "How much I wish that the proprietors of India Stock could have attended the wheels of Juggernaut and seen this peculiar source of their revenue."[112]

The evangelical conscience ventilated its grievances through the missionary press. The Serampore missionaries published a tract with the title 'Rise of Wisdom' which condemned the government mistakes for patronizing idolatry. Lord Minto interrupted the circulation of this tract. The missionaries' account created a public opinion in England which blamed the Home Government for its non intervention in the practice of self immolation.[113]

Charles Buller, a former Settlement Commissioner at Cuttack had witnessed the Car Festival at Puri. Some of the charges of Buchanan was refuted by him. He wrote a letter dated 19th May, 1813 to the Court of Directors of the East India Company defending the action of the Bengal Government relating to the Jagannath. He defended the charges of his opponents with logic who considered the collection of the Pilgrim Tax "as a price for the permission of idolatry, and consequently they seem to think that if the Government would consent to give up the revenue, the idolatry would of course cease."[114] He disliked the idea that the ruling power should debar the Hindus of their rights of religious worship. If the Hindus were allowed "access to the temple at Jagannath such access must be subject to restraint and regulation, and I know not a more powerful means of restraint and regulation than is afforded by the tax."[115] The contention that repeal of the tax would lead to a reduction in the influx of pilgrims was not acceptable to Buller. It was wrong on the part of the critics to assume that the collection of the tax was an encouragement in the part of the government to invite pilgrims. The tax imposed some restraint whereas during "the time that access was allowed without the tax, the throng of people at the place was so great, and such a considerable number of the poorer classes took that opportunity of visiting the Temple, that I was informed that several persons perished from actual want of subsistence. The scenes on the road, were, I am told, truly shocking, but since the tax has been continued, the members of the Pilgrims, particularly of the lower classes, have considerably diminished."[116] Buller visited frequently between Cuttack and Puri and that too previous to the Rath Jatra, but had not come across many cases of pilgrims' sufferings. Their number was insignificant as compared to the number of pilgrims. Amongst these sufferers were old and disabled people who wished to end their life in peace in this

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holy town.[117] He thought he would "regret to see the tax abolished, as the abolition of it would render it difficult to restrain and regulate the numerous bodies of pilgrims who resort to the place, and it would in all probability, be the cause of revival of those horrid scenes of distress, which were before experienced when the tax was discontinued."[118] It was not objectionable to tax when the government had to grant money to the various Hindu and Mohammedan religious institutions for their maintenance

As far as immolation under the wheels of the car is taken into consideration, Buller considered such instances exceptional and not the rule. It was not prescribed as a duty by the Hindus of any sect. In 1809, while he was in Puri as a witness to the Car festival he heard one such instance of immolation.[119] The argument of Buller convinced the members of Parliament that Buchanan's account regarding idolatry was exaggerated.

Buchanan had addressed two letters to the Court of Directors defending his statement.[120]

The natives of Orissa wished the government influence over the temple to continue. Especially the Pundas considered the imposition of the pilgrim tax lucrative for them.[121] Charles Buller was not ready to acknowledge the fact that the government was encouraging idolatry. The government's attitude was termed as a liberal wish to protect and secure its native subjects in the due exercise of their religions as well as civil liberties," and it was just an "anxious desire, on the part of government to remove all unlawful impediments and obstacles from out of the way of the Hindoos worshipping with ease and convenience to themselves."[122]

The government did not abolish the tax. The Jagannath Road between Calcutta and Puri was repaired when Raja Sukhamaya Ray of Calcutta largely financed the work by contributing one lakh and fifty thousand rupees to the government. It offered a strategic link between Fort Wiliam and Fort St. George. The work started in October 1812, under the superintendence of Captain Sackville and was completed in 1825. The number of pilgrims increased after this road was opened and the revenue from this tax increased by Rs.90,000.[123]

The taxation had its attendant evils. According to Peggs, "the poverty, sickness, mortality, and brutal treatment of the dead, consequent upon vast assembles of pilgrims, demonstrate the pernicious tendency of a system which regulates supports and aggrandizes idolatry."[124] Apart from Buchanan's accounts of the pitiable state of the pilgrims during the Car Festivals there were others who confirmed their plight. Colonel Phipps was present during the Car festival in 1822, and found

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pilgrims dying on their way to Puri. People would give up their occupation and leave their family to obtain eternal bliss. On their way they died of exhaustion. Some died on their return journey. Especially women, children, the aged and the disabled died in numbers.[125] Rev. Ward had calculated that every year almost 4,000 pilgrims were victims of the superstition.[126]

Rev. W. Bampton, the missionary at Puri described the situation at the Car festival in 1823. On 11th of July he found a mutilated body lying in front of the car which was hardly noticed by other pilgrims. Two dogs were eating him. The pilgrims detained at the gate were bound to suffer. Within a mile of the gate about six more were dead.[127] Another Baptist Missionary Rev. C. Lacey, stationed at Cuttack mentioned in one of the periodicals the exact situation of the Rath Jatra during June, 1825. On 19th June, he found sixty persons dead and dying as he counted them from the temple down to the hospital, leaving the sick who were without hope. A small river nearby was gutted with bodies and dogs and birds were busy enjoying their flesh.[128] Mrs Lacey had related "The poor pilgrims were to be seen in every direction dead, and in the agonies of death, lying by fives, tens, and twenties. Mr. L. counted upwards of ninety in one place, and in another Mr. Bampton counted 140. In the hospital, I believe I have seen thirty dead at once, and numbers in the agonies of death; and even the living using the dead bodies for pillows."[129] J. Peggs, the missionary at Cuttack and the author of 'India's Cries to British Humanity' and 'Pilgrim Tax in India' was present at the great festival in 1824 and 1825 and found bodies lying at different places and three persons were seen to be measuring their way to the temple by constant prostration.[130]

Due to lack of accommodation and medical facilities the pilgrims also suffered. Many deaths were due to living in unhygienic conditions. Epidemics like cholera broke out. The Collector of Cuttack Thomas Pokenham suggested to the government to erect more rest houses but it was ignored.[131] The pilgrim hospital at Puri was not enough to attend the sick and the dying.

Rev. Peggs addressed a letter to J. H. Haringson, Esq., Calcutta stating the miseries of the pilgrims. About 400 rupees was sent to the missionaries and two missionaries Messrs Bampton and Lacey went from Puri to Cuttack in 1825, to provide relief to the people.[132] At Puri, Sutton, Peggs and other missionaries gave rice to several people. Some of the pilgrims refused to accept food unless cooked by Brahmins.[133] The rains made the plight of pilgrims worse because there were few places where they could take shelter comfortably. The missionaries brought relief to females who were deserted by their friends and were

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penniless.[134] The pilgrims also suffered during their return journeys. Rev. Lacroix, a missionary of Calcutta stated - "Weakened by their long stay at Puri and its many miseries, the roads in a bad state, their previous excitement all fled, their little stock of money greatly reduced the pilgrims group themselves again in their little companies' start for home. Being anxious to proceed they travelled very long stages every day, and walk until they drop from sheer fatigue."[135]

Dr. Carey had rightly observed - "Idolatry destroys more than the sword, yet in a way which is scarcely perceived. The number who die in their long pilgrimages, either through want of fatigue, or from dysenteries and fevers, caught by lying out and want of accommodation is incredible."[136]

During the Rath Jatra in 1826, there were instances of self immolation under the Car. Rev. C. Lacey (the festival was held on 9th July) observed, one respectable man to have immolated under the car as it was moving. Twelve persons were determined to sacrifice but were detained by the magistrate and thereby were prevented from disaster.[137]

Similar practices were observed in the Temple of Ranisseran and Mr. Cordiner in his 'History of Ceylon' mentions that self- immolation was practised by the females.[138]

The missionaries had concentrated their evangelization work in Puri. The centre was opened at Puri with the impression that a blow "at idolatry here will prove a blow at the root."[139] Rev. Bampton was posted there followed by Rev. Sutton and Rev. Lacey. They preached about christianity, distributed books, tracts, gospels and openly denounced the worship of Jagannath.[140] They worked with the aim, "Juggernaut the great, the obscure, the bloody Juggernaut, must fall, long perhaps will be the struggle and fierce the conflict, but he must fall; and the place which knows him now will know him no more for ever."[141] People's belief in Jagannath was so deep rooted that the missionaries in the beginning were not successful. On the other hand the government's support of idolatry was a challenge to their efforts. Natives questioned the validity of missionary opposition. "If Juggernath be nothing, why does the Company take so much money from those who come to see him."[142]

Even Peggs came across questions which was challenging to Christianity. One evening while passing by the large temple of Seeta Ram at Cuttack he caught sight of the idols and exclaimed "pape, pape (sinful, sinful)." The native who was with him asked, "Sir, is that sinful for which the Company give thousands" (meaning rupees). He replied "Yes is sinful but the Company are a long way off, they do not

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know everything about the Country, L.C."[143] Abraham the native preacher who accompanied Peggs and Bampton in their preaching tours defended the work of the British Government in these words - "So far from acknowledging Juggernaut, the English do it to punish the people. It would be too much trouble to flog so many people, therefore they set up a gate and fine them."[144] Another native once questioned Rev. Peggs "If the Government does not forsake Juggernaut, how can you expect that we should ?"[145] and another statement was given by a native - "If your religions were true, the Government would support it but they do not."[146]

The truth is the collection of the tax and its attendant regulations made it obvious of the fact that these idolatrous practices however detested by Christian missionaries received the sanction of the supreme authority. The whole system was "inhuman impolitic and unchristian."[147]

In 1825, the B.M.S. decided to act against the British connection with idolatry. The society presented a petition to the House of Commons and Directors of the East India Company against the British support of idolatrous institutions. The Society also forwarded the copy of the petition to the Secretaries of other missionary societies.[148] In 1826, James Peggs, the Orissa missionary of the G.B.M.S. arrived in England and gave publicity to the plight of the pilgrims.[149] In 1828, Peggs published a treatise 'The Pilgrims Tax in India' which explained the details of the suffering of the pilgrims at Gaya, Allahabad and Puri exposing the misdeeds of the British Government. In 1832, Peggs published the famous work, 'India's Cries to British Humanity' relating to the Government's connection with the Jagannath Temple. He wrote "Britian now regulates, supports and aggrandizes idolatry at some of the principal places of pilgrimage, christianity intears approaches her and says - Touch not, taste not, handle not".[150] According to him the temple of Jagannath had become popular due to the favour done by the government. Many Hindu shrines had declined and became neglected due to want of resources. In case the government withdrew its patronage this would suffer and thus the temple with all its apparatus, would gradually sink into neglect and contempt.[151] Left to itself it would one day be destroyed. The number of pilgrim hunters will reduce due to the paucity of premiums given to them and this would lead to the dwindling in the number of pilgrims.

Peggs gave examples from the Calcutta Missionaries Herald, July 1824, that Car festivals organised at Chandernagar under the French was not observed literally in that year and the two cars of Jagannath at Bydpoor near Culna in the Nadia district were burnt when the residents came to know that thieves and murderers took shelter in it.[152]

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Peggs pamphlet on Pilgrim tax was a combination of "stray questions than a coherent argument."[153] His arguments were based on extract from the missionary press such as Hartington's Analysis Grant's Observation etc. to make a favourable case against the tax.[154] To strengthen his arguments he reminded the home authorities that one amongst them named John Poynder had addressed the Court of proprietors relating to Human Sacrifice in India in 1827. He mentioned about the petition addressed to both houses of the British Parliament during 1827-28 by a group of Manchester Baptists urging abolition of Sati and the pilgrim tax in India.[155]

The christian missionaries to Orissa had visited the Car festival and testified the act of self immolation under the car by the pilgrims during the festival and other such kind of mishaps Missionary accounts at times were exaggerated. It was known as 'missionary propaganda'.[156] Stray incidents and accidents were bound to happen in such congregations. The act of self-immolation under the wheels of the Car of the deities was an "European invention."[157] Eye witnesses of the festival testified such acts as 'rare and unknown'[158] or the work of "some leper or other diseased wretch"[159] who wished to relieve himself from endless miseries. Vishnu worship did not sanction bloodshed and this type of calamity would have made the ceremony impure.[160] The Settlement Commissioner of Cuttack, Charles Buller had visited Puri during the Car festivals of 1809, and heard of one such case of self immolation.[161] Andrew Stirling witnessed the festival four times. There were three cases of immolation out of which one was an accident, the other two incidents were cases of suicide.[162] M. D. Short who served in Orissa stated such cases of voluntary sacrifice to be rare.[163]

The exaggerations of the missionaries were heard in England and created sensation amongst the English people. "At last the voice of Christianity was heard."[164] In the Despatch dated 12th November, 1836 the Court of Directors urged upon the Governor General in Council to abolish the Pilgrim Tax and to dissociate the government from the temple. The Sudder Board of Revenue in their letter dated 9th May, 1837, communicated to Mills that the Supreme Government had decided to abolish the pilgrim tax.[165]

The Revenue Department of the Government of India, dated 16th December, 1839 (November 16 of 1839) had despatched letter to the Honourable Court of Directors of the East India Company. It stated that the members J. C. Robertson, J. Nicolls, W. W. Birds and W. Casement had concurred in approving the suggestion made by the Sudder Board of Revenue for discontinuing the connection of the gov-

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ernment with the management of the Jagannath temple and the abolition of the pilgrim tax.[166]

In 1838, the Orissa G.B.M.S. missionary, Charles Lacey had appealed to the fellow Christians on the government's idolatrous connection. On 29th March, 1838 the journal 'The Friend of India' stated that public opinion can ultimately force the Court of Directors to give directions to this end.[167] Lord Auckland (1836- 42) the Governor General approved of the repeal of the tax collection done by the Act I of 1840.[168] From 3rd May, 1840 the collection of the pilgrim tax finally ceased and the temple was open to the pilgrims.[169] The Revenue Department in its letter, dated 2nd June 1840 (No.7) had stated about the repeal of the pilgrim tax - "we learn that the tax on pilgrims at that place had been relinquished, and that the entire management of the temple is to be made over to the rajah of Khoorda and his successors. The yearly donation of 60,000 (hitherto paid from the tax on pilgrims) which was stipulated to be granted for the support of the temple in the year 1808 is to be continued by Government. The lands belonging to the temple are as heretofore, to be managed by the revenue officers, in order that protection and justice may be secured to the ryots, the next proceeds being paid to the rajah of Khoordah, as superintendent of the temple."[170]

To some extent "the missionary contention that the abolition of the pilgrim tax would not stimulate larger traffic of pilgrims to Puri was proved correct. In 1846 and 1847 the number of pilgrims was the smallest ever - 50,000 which included the 30,000 residents of the Puri town itself."[171]

The number of pilgrims at Puri during the Car festivals of the year 1869, was not more than 6,000. Only seventy people were affected by disease out of which 15-20 were pilgrims and the rest were locals.[172] According to the police counting of pilgrims at Atharnala Ghat, between 11th July, 1869 to 17th July, 1869 there were 11,503 pilgrims.[173]

The decision of the government to abolish the pilgrim tax was "fundamentally political."[174] The abolition was a part of their routine Government business. The Pilgrim Tax did not clarify the Company's motives. There were conflicting motivations behind the Company's decision in renewing the tax in 1805, and then to abolish it in 1840.[175] The tax regulation was framed to protect the pilgrims from extortion and harassment. Its renewal reassured that there would be sufficient money to support the temple expenses.[176] The tax was considered not "as a source of Revenue but merely as a Fund for keeping the temple in repair."[177]

In the 1830's the Governor General, Lord William Bentinck took an utilitarian view of the tax as a builder of roads rather than an

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embarrassment for the Christian Government. His private papers did not show any concern for the evangelical press.[178] He disagreed with the views of the missionaries regarding its abolition.[179] The Governor General Auckland had also resented against evangelical pressures in his private correspondence.[180]

For the average Company administration the pilgrim tax was an item of public revenue.[181] In 1832, the House of Commons requested the Board of Control to collect evidence on the pilgrim tax. A query on this issue from the Company's Servant's entitled "How far do pilgrim taxes identify the British Government with superstitious and idolatrous worship and how far would the abandonment of such taxes aggravate evils that result from the assemblage of large bodies of pilgrims?" showed that the majority of those who responded did not consider it to be a connection with idolatry.[182]

The Government had taken a secular view about the pilgrim tax. Native religious institutions were protected as simply as a prostitute was protected from a brothel or from burglary.[183] The evangelicals forced the issue of the abolition of the pilgrim tax in the 1880's. The Home authorities were evasive in their action.

They did not object to its abolition, they disliked the evangelical's tactics to promote Christianity. They refused to be identified with missionary labours. The issue was resolved according to the secular and neutral dictates of Cornwallis Code known as the Compact.[184]

The abolition of the pilgrim tax through Act X of 1840, was a compromise. The government continued to pay a subsidy of a fixed amount of Rs.56,342 to the temple[185] and indirectly continued to indulge in idolatry.

This caused tension amongst the missionaries and their evangelical supporters both in Britain and India. Due to their persistent pressure from these groups the government was forced to hand over various estates to the Raja of Puri in return for annual payments. Through these transactions the temple and the Raja of Puri became economically more and more independent and the last financial links were finally cut in 1863.[186]

The Rajas of Puri who were known as the Gajapatis of Orissa were treated to be as divine as Lord Jagannath. The Raja was addressed as 'Chalanti·Vishnu (moving Vishnu) whereas Jagannath was Vishnu in its static form.[187] He was considered the Sevaka of Jagannath and enjoyed many ritualistic privileges concerning the temple.[188]

The Ganga Rulers of Orissa (who popularised the cult of Jagannath) and then the Suryavamsi rulers (1435-1540) manipulated the worship of Jagannath to suit political and religious ends.[189] "Under the Ganga-

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Suryavamsi Rajas the Jagannath cult grew into a symbol of Hindu Kingship and royal authority in Orissa. Therefore only those rulers who were in possession of Puri and its Jagannath temple were recognised as the legitimate Gajapatis and rulers of Orissa.[190] Mukunda Deva, the last Hindu Raja of Orissa died in 1568 A.D. and the state was in disorder. Raja Rama Chandra Deva carved out a small kingdom with its capital at Khurda about 1572 A.D.[191]

In 1592, Rama Chandra Deva's position was strengthened when he was recognised as the Chief ruler of Orissa by Raja Mansingh, the famous general of Akbar. He was appointed as the Superintendent of the Jagannath Temple.[192] But in 1751, when the Marhattas occupied Orissa they were jealous of the position of the Khurda Raja and took over the administration of the temple.[193] The Marhattas diminished the influence of the Raja of Khurda and gradually identified themselves with the Gajapathis of Orissa.

Therefore when the British occupied Orissa in 1803, they followed a unique policy of maintaining links with the Jagannath temple and its idolatrous practices. This involvement provided them with revenue for the management of the temple. On the other hand it glorified their administration due to the native acceptance of their indulgence.

In 1803, when the company was making preparations against the Marhattas, they became aware of the importance of the Jagannath temple. The fact was "the possession of the God had always given the dominion of Orissa.[194] The then Governor General Lord Wellesley was interested in this respect and on the very day of the declaration of the war sent strict orders regarding the Temple to Lt Colonel Campbell, the officer in command of the British invading forces in Orissa. For the first time in British Indian History a Christian Governor General designed and dictated a policy to be pursued with respect to a famous Hindu shrine.[195]

He instructed Campbell, 'On your arrival at Jagarnnaut, you will employ every possible precaution to preserve the respect due to the pagoda, and to the religious prejudices of the Brahmins and pilgrims. You will furnish the Brahmins with such guards as shall afford perfect security to their persons, rites and ceremonies and the sanctity of the religious edifices, and you will strictly enjoin those under your command to observe your orders on this important subject, with the utmost degree of accuracy and vigilance."[196] George Harcourt and John Melville, the British Commissioners for Cuttack followed the instructions.

The Governor General in Council retained the posts of the principal officers in-charge of the Jagannath temple since the Marhatta rule

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in Orissa. The Board of Commissioners informed the Collector of Jagannath (Puri) about the orders of the Governor General to permit the former customs and ceremonies and to avoid interference and innovation in the field of religious ceremonies.[197]

By Regulation iv of 1809, the superintendence of the affairs of the temple was vested on the Raja of Khurda by the British[198] and was confirmed by another Act of 1840.[199]

The provision in Act X of 1840 for financial support by the British government towards the maintenance of the temple was bitterly criticized by the missionaries.[200] Due to their relentless pressure the government ceded various estates to the Raja of Khurda. Through these transactions the Raja became economically more and more independent. The last financial links finally ended in 1863.[201] In 1841, J. Peggs the former B.M.S. missionary of Orissa, residing then in England addressed a letter to Viscount Melbourne, first Lord to Majesty's Treasury on the present state of British connection with Idolatry in India at each of the four provinces and the island of Ceylon.[202]

Memorials relating to the unholy connection between the British Government in India and idolatry had been forwarded to the Court of East India Proprietors, and to the President of the Board of Control. The first of these memorials were presented by Mr. Poynder. The latter had postponed a motion on the subject till September, 1843 in consequence of Sir Robert Peel's statement in the House of Commons, that a Despatch relating to this issue had been sent to India.[203] The memorial sent to the President of the Board of Control was presented to the Earl of Ripon, by Wm Evans Esq., Member for North Derbyshire and by Mr. Peggs.[204]

The Missionary Conference held in Orissa at Cuttack on 22nd November, 1845 presented the following resolution. "It is true that government have abolished the Pilgrim Tax, but Government do, still in fact, though in another form, contribute more largely than before to the support of the idol, in as much as they have not only relinquished the land and then emoluments of the temple for which they were formerly receiving a revenue but have added an annual donation of 35,000 rupees."[205]

On 13th May, 1847 some members of the General Missionary Society presented a memorial to Sir John Hob House, the President of the Board of Control in connection with the support of the Temple by the government.[206] In 1848, J. Peggs wrote a letter to Henry St. George Tucker, Chairman of the Court of Directors of the Company relating to the Government's financial grant to the Jagannath Temple in which he referred to the views of officers and also missionaries of Orissa.[207]

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At the Annual Missionary Conference of the Orissa missionaries held at Cuttack on 12th November, 1851, a resolution was adopted regarding this burning issue. "Whereas the Christian public have, for many years passed, been led to hope that all connection between the Government of India and this profane idol should cease, and whereas the Government have during the current year put forth the Draft of an Act giving rise to the confident expectation that they would bring a matter to a satisfactory adjustment and further more whereas the said Act has not been passed, we, at the conference situated amidst the accused influence of this most abominable system of idolatry feel ourselves called upon to renew our annual protest against this unholy connection - to express our conviction that the proposed Act dealt fairly with the parties interested in the shrine so that no further concession or grant is called for in equity, and to declare that as Christian Missionaries, we cannot forbear to entreat the Honourable Government of India to meet the just expectations of the Christian public by passing the above named Act in its integrity and without delay."[208] The annual payment to the temple was reduced to Rs.23,321[209] and the Satais Hazari Mahal was transferred to the Raja of Khurda on 31st March, 1843.[210]

On 12th August, 1852 David Edwards and other missionaries presented a memorial to Lord Dalhousie, the Governor General (1848-56) requesting to take steps to severe all relationship with the temple.[211] The Baptist Missionaries of Orissa had again sent petitions to Dalhousie on 5th December, 1853. It was signed on behalf of the Orissa Mission, by its Chairman, I. Stubbins and Secretary, A. Sutton. It criticized the idolatrous connection of the government. They pointed how the government have been patronising idolatry in Orissa. Apart from Jagannath temple, the government had also spent money in other small temples of Orissa and their attendants, under the head of Territorial Pensions.[212]

The government did not find any supporting basis for defending their acts of idolatry. The Cornwallis Code of religious toleration was not required very much in Orissa. The British had a very easy political victory in Orissa. Therefore there was no need for upholding and protecting religious institutions in the name of religious toleration. The Court of Directors in their letter to the Government of India on May 5, 1852[213] expressed their desire to see the Government free from its temple connection.

Since the Marhatta rule in Orissa (1751) they arranged for the management of the temple and encouraged the worship of Jagannath. The paraganas of Rahong, Sirai, Chabirkud and Lereboi known as the Satais

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Hazari Mahal yielding an annual revenue of Rs.27,000 was set aside for the temple administration.[214] After the British conquest of Orissa (1803) the land endowments of the temple (Satais Hazari Mahal) were managed directly by the British government. In 1806, the superintendence of the temple was vested in an assembly of three Pundits. In 1809, the assembly of Pundits was abolished and the superintendence of the temple was entrusted to the Raja of Khurda (Raja of Puri) subject to the control and supervision of the British government. In 1840, the pilgrim tax was abolished but the government continued to still pay the Raja a fixed amount of Rs.56,342-9-8 for managing the temple.[215]

In 1842, the Sadar Board of Revenue according to the directives of the Court of Directors wanted the Satais Hazari Mahal to be transferred to the Superintendent of the Temple or the Raja of Khurda.[216] With a view to dissociate itself with the temple, the British Government in 1843, ceded to the Raja of Khurda (Raja of Puri) the estates of Satais Hazari Mahal.[217] After ceding the Satais Hazari Mahal the government still continued to pay money to the temple which was a reduced sum of Rs.36,178-12-2.[218] The Pilgrim tax was abolished. Hence the money was paid from the general revenue. The missionaries could not accept this arrangement. They also alleged that forced labour was demanded by the police from the people to pull the Cars of Jagannath. The Court of Directors enquired into the matter and sent despatches on April 4, 1843 to the Governor General demanding the basis of the donation to the temple.[219] The allegations were found to be exaggerations.[220] The Board of Revenue suggested the discontinuance of the donation. There was no justification for this kind of payment after the abolition of the pilgrim tax.[221] The government was determined to free itself from temple affairs. It tried ways and means for substituting funds for the annual donation given by the Government. They were not prepared to leave the temple to its own fate.

In 1858 and 1863, some villages comprising the Ekharajat Mahal were ceded to the Raja for the maintenance of the temple and all cash payments by the government stopped.[222]

The relentless pursuit of the missionaries against the pilgrim tax and the British connection with idolatry met with success. But it "did not reach the ultimate goal of their struggle, the reduction of idolatrious establishment. On the contrary it was far away than ever before."[223] Rev. Buchanan had impressed upon the missionaries of Orissa that Puri was the chief seat of the Hindus and Jagannath "the strong hold and fountain head of idolatry." By striking at the root they could win over idolatry.[224] Their expectations were belied. In 1832, the mission-

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aries left Puri empty handed and they carried their struggle into Great Britain and started an unprecedented and successful fight against British support of idolatrous institutions.[225]

Instead of uprooting the idolatrous system in Orissa, the struggle of the missionaries continued. The missionaries of Orissa were also concerned about the social upliftment of the people of Orissa. Inspite of their busy schedule they indulged in some work which was not a part of the Baptist institution. Heartily they wished the social wellbeing of the people. People suffering from leprosy were socially ostracized by their family members. Without proper care and medicines the people had to suffer and degenerate until death relieved them of this traumatic experience.

An asylum for the Lepers was established by the government in 1919[226], and it was maintained by the Public Works Department (P.W.D.). It was until then the only asylum for lepers in Orissa.[227] The buildings included a laboratory, dispensary, operating theatre and a hospital with 20 beds, weaving shed, meeting halls and the necessary quarters.[228] Though it was not a B.M.S. hospital, "it is a place where many missionaries and christians of Orissa have loved to serve and witness for Christ."[229] The asylum was managed by the Society, named Mission to Lepers who functioned through the local Baptist Mission and was responsible to the government.[230]

From the beginning the Mission provided the honorary superintendent for this asylum.[231] Rev. R. J. Grundy was the first superintendent of the Cuttack Leper Asylum.[232] He was. followed by Rev. O. J. Millman, Rev. G. S. Wilkins, Rev. J. Guest, Rev. S. F. Robinson and Rev. I. R. Lazarus etc.[233] "The Leper Asylum owe much to the loving labour and thought expended on the work by its successive superintendents."[234] This asylum survived on funds mostly provided by the government and the Mission to Lepers, but contributions were also received from local bodies and certain feudatory states.[235]

The first doctor in charge of the hospital was Dr. Issac Santra, the son of Rev. Bhikari Santra, who was an assistant missionary of the B.M.S. Dr. C. Sahu, the medical officer of the asylum was also the son of a mission worker. The overseer, Babu Bankim C. Patra was a nephew of one of the assistant missionaries. The senior compounder and matron on the women's side were also devout christians.[236] It is "apparent that the Mission and the Christian Community are keenly interested in helping the unfortunate people to better health and to a knowledge of their saviour."[237]

The efforts of the government and the missionaries in this respect was fruitful. In the year 1930-31, thirty five cases were discharged

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'symptom free' and none of them had a recurrence of the disease.[238] Up-to-date treatment was given to the patients and on an average twenty of them were discharged every year as symptom free or burnt out cases.[239] The asylum was designed to accommodate 270 people, but later on it was enlarged to adjust over 370 patients.[240]

Evangelization was successful in this little asylum for lepers. Nearly all became Christians after coming to the asylum[241] The inmates were members of the church and were also given education and some training to be self sufficient.[242] Church Services were held on Sundays and Thursdays. A honorary pastor spent much of his time in personal chats with the patients. Missionaries and other Christian friends attended the services, so that they could be in touch with the fellow Christians outside the hospital.[243] The education of the inmates was also looked after by the missionaries with sincerity.

There were schools for boys and girls as well as for the adults. Other activities like Scouts, Guides and Cubs were arranged to entertain their painful lives. It also gave them opportunities to learn how to serve one another despite being physically handicapped.[244]

With evangelization as a true interest the missionaries worked for the lepers in the asylum. They were particular about converting the inmates of this institutions. The dedication which they showed in nursing them also shows that they did it in true Christian spirit. The hospitals opened by the American Free Will Baptist Missionaries at Balasore and Jellasore were not done with the intention of gaining converts to Christianity but to nurse the sick pilgrims on their way to and from Puri and especially during the annual Car festival at Puri. A mission hospital by the British Baptist was established at Pipli, near Puri to attend the pilgrims.[245] They took ample care of the sick when the necessity arose.

If some of the pilgrims who were attended upon by the missionaries and destitute children of the pilgrims were cared for in the orphanages and became converts, that was an indirect assault on their mind. This was not done in a fit to gain converts. "Clinical evangelization"[246] was mostly successful in the Kond Hills and amongst the Santals.

Rev. Sutton had written that the "bodily ailments of the people demand a large portion of the missionaries time and attention. Our earliest journals detail our daily attempts at alleviating the miseries induced by the Car Festival as well as ordinary calls upon us for the relief of the sick and afflicted. The late Mr. Peggs completely broke down in his attempts thus to alleviate the sorrows of suffering humanity. A large portion of time of some of our missionaries is yet

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daily devoted to this matter."[247] In many cases the suffering pilgrims begged for help to the missionaries.[248] The latter provided tracts, medicines, food, clothing, fruits etc. to the pilgrims on the pilgrim road. Lacey had also gone to the extent of frequently obliging to clothe the female pilgrims by himself.[249] The missionaries could relieve "many a child of misery by administering medicine to the sick, clothing to the naked, food to the hungry, and money to the destitutes."[250] A non Christian mentioned to a missionary - "You Christians have kind hands for sick people, trained doctors who are not Christians have not such kind hands."[251] Even Mr. Bachelor, the American Missionary in charge of Balasore mission station was a student of medicine. He opened a hospital and a school for teaching students in medicine[252], in 1842.[253] This agency was useful for the Mission.[254] His colleague Mr. Phillips stationed at Jellasore came across the plight of the pilgrims on their way to Puri. To alleviate their suffering he had established a small hospital. About his hospital work Mr. Bachelor wrote

> "Medicines have been dispensed to all who have applied, and surgical operations performed for the last nine years. These applicants have usually been poor; such as were not able to pay for medical advice. The pilgrims, on their return from Jugernath, have usually afforded a large number of patients; and many come from remote parts of the district, as well as from the town and vicinity of Balasore."[256]

Patients increased due to the introduction of chloroform. Successful surgical operations increased the people's confidence in European medicine.[257] One year, the hospital had treated 2,407 cases, undertaken 126 surgical operations and also 12 operations under the influence of chloroform.[258]

Caring for the poor and the sick did not bring any direct result in the form of conversion to Christianity. Nevertheless it softened the hardened attitude of the people towards this religion. Mr. Bachelor had acknowledged "It is true all this does not save the soul, neither, in itself considered, does it advance the sinner a single step in the way to heaven; but it affords many opportunities of communicating religious truth which could not otherwise be enjoyed, and that, too when the heart is softened by affliction and sorrow."[259]

The hospital was managed financially with the contributions of Europeans and from other mission stations. The hospital at Jellasore was possible due to "liberality of friends."[260] Jellasore was not an European station. Therefore the government did not provide for any relief for the pilgrims. It was usual amongst the Hindu shopkeepers to drive away the pilgrims when they were sick and it worsened their condi-

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tion. These people had no alternative but to die on the road side, unsheltered and unattended.[261] A mission hospital was established which was a small cottage in a dry and airy spot and consisting of three rooms.[262]

In later years, like the Women Auxiliary Mission, a branch of the B.M.S. known as the Medical Auxiliary Mission worked for the sick in India. It was then merged with the B.M.S.[263]

According to Sutton, the missionaries were always concerned about the poor and the sick. For many years they organised a weekly assembly of the lame, the blind, the lepers etc. and gave them alms and preached the gospel. Sutton was made the almoner of more than one generous individual to provide relief to poor Christians.[264] B.M.S. hospitals were established at Berhampur, G.Udaygiri and Bolangir.

The Berhampur Mission Hospital had its humble beginning as a small dispensary. The grandmother of Dr. E. G. Wilkin's visited Berhampur in 1895, and appealed for medical work. Therefore, in 1900 a medical work for women and children was opened in Berhampur.[265] Dr. Miss Nina Ottman who was engaged in the Government Hospital in Berhampur responded to the call to nurse the women and children. She joined the Mission and opened a dispensary for them. Later on this dispensary was expanded to a small hospital to accommodate as many as twenty four patients.[266] New buildings were added such as the centenary block consisting of a dispensary, out patients department and quarters for Indian doctors and evangelists.[267] Many of the improvements were possible due to the contribution of local patients. A local rajah for instance had given an ambulance car.[268] It also sustained itself by grants from the Government.[269]

Due to lack of workers the hospital was closed several times. Since 1924, it has been functioning permanently.[270] The activities of the hospital increased beyond imagination. In 1925, a Training School for nurses was attached to this hospital. This school received recognition from the government and every year qualified nurses and midwives passed out of this school. They were absorbed in government hospitals, Child Welfare Centres, District Nursing and the Moorshead Memoral Hospital.[271]

In the year 1940, the number of inpatients and outpatients treated in this hospital were 1,896 and 36,708 respectively. In addition, doctors also treated many patients both christian and non-christian. In 1942, the hospital staff consisted of one European doctor, two Indian doctors, two European nursing sisters, 22 nurses, 4 evangelists and one compounder.[272] Nursing the sick was complemented by a knowledge of Christianity. The Gospel was known to those who came to the hospital to cure their illness.

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Services were held religiously in the out-patients' department as well as in the wards. The contacts made here were followed up by the hospital evangelists and by the christian women living in the town. In 1940, over 30,000 people had come to be acquainted with the words of Jesus through this medium (hospital). Those who were trained to be nurses and midwives in the Training School also received an additional training in Christian ideals of service so that they can serve both ends.[273]

The missionaries were active in the Bolangir district. There was limited opportunity for treatment of the Christians.[274] Mrs. Jarry, the wife of a missionary was a trained nurse. When she arrived with her husband in Bolangir in 1913[275] she begun giving first aid especially to the ladies and infants by opening a dispensary in the varendah of her bungalow. This went on for many years.[276]

Mrs Jarry even nursed the sick children when the hostels were established in 1910.[277] When the workload became more, a small dispensary was built in 1922, and a nursing sister was appointed.[278] Miss Soper was appointed to assist Mrs. Jarry.[279]

Three years later a skilled doctor named Mrs. Fellows arrived at Bolangir to run the hospital. She was a loving doctor and could enter many Hindu homes where she was able to say something about Christ.[280] More buildings were added to the main hospital consisting of a consulting room, dispensary room and two small wards for treatment of sick boys and girls. Many women and children came daily to this hospital for treatment.[281] The spirit of evangelization was maintained in the hospital and a "Biblewoman taught them of Jesus Christ as they waited to see the doctor."[282] Unfortunately this was closed after some years.[283]

When Mrs Fellows was transferred to Cuttack, the Bolangir Mission hospital lost its mission doctor. Once more a nursing sister remained in charge. Miss Gordon and Miss Jarry continued to work for this hospital until 1933, when lack of funds virtually closed the Bolangir dispensary. It was thereafter used as a first aid centre for the missionary hostel boys and girls.[284]

The Bihar and Orissa District Gazetteers (Sambalpur) mentions the existence of a mission hospital in Jharsuguda.[285]

Clinical evangelism was successful amongst the Konds where people living in primitive style required modern treatment in medicine. In 1906, the Medical Secretary of the Baptist Mission, Dr. Moorshed on his visit to the Kond Hills had suggested for making arrangements for the treatment of the people of this region.[286]

The British Government did not fare better and was satisfied with the report in the Gazetteer of 1908, which stated "Hospitals and dis-

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pensaries are only on the plains, the District Collector and Sub-Assistant take a hospital assistant on their cold season tours and thus bring medical aid within reach of the hill tribes."[287] Once in a year a unqualified assistant visited limited portions of the Hill tract and that too during the healthiest season.[288]

Winfield the famous linguist had stated how people suffered most in the Kond Hills due to faith healing and all kinds of superstitious belief. There was no doctor in the Kond Hills and medical work was done by the theological or educational missionaries. According to him, during the year 1921, four thousand people were helped by the missionaries. These people mostly suffered from malaria, black-water fever, veneral disease, opthalmia, influenza, dysentery, pneumonia, tuberculosis, tetanus, skin diseases of all kinds, burns, scalds, snakebites and accidents.[289] Each day a crowd of people waited for the missionaries for medicine and relief. The question of Winfield was "How long must these poor folk be left to the mercies of amateurs?"[290]

O. J. Millman, the missionary in the Kond Hills mentioned the case of a young pupil who developed leprosy. He was ostracized by his people who believed that the leprosy spirit had punished him for his wicked action or because he had defaulted in offering gifts to the spirit. Timely and proper treatment would have avoided the disease being aggravated.[291]

Some concern was shown for sending doctors to these remote parts. In 1911, Herbert Anderson while speaking in the Annual Medical Missionary Meeting in London said—"The first doctor offering to the Society must go to the Kond Hills"—The same year a doctor was appointed, but the matter did not materialize.[292] Next year, in 1912, the A.M.M. Meeting was held in India and it granted one hundred rupees for the Kond Hill missionaries to treat such ailments which they could do.[293]

In 1912, land was purchased by the B.M.S. missionaries for a hospital and a rough sketch was done. A few years later a young hillsman was sent to Berhampur to train himself as a compounder and two girls were sent to the Training School attached to the Berhampur Mission Hospital to be trained as nurses.[294]

In 1923, the B.M.S. finally committed themselves to send a doctor and give aid for building the Moorshead Memorial Hospital in memory of Dr. Fletcher Moorshead of the Home Board.[295] Time lapsed before real work was done in this respect. B. M. Boal mentioned that the missionaries of the Kond Hills were misunderstood when they failed to treat the difficult cases. "Great was the frustration and near despair of the missionaries for lack of skilled knowledge was misinterpreted by the Kui people as lack of the will to help."[296]

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Freda Laughlin, the female worker in the Kond Hills narrated her experience when she visited a Kui village. She said, "In a very few minutes the whole place was in the street. Sick babies with inflamed eyes, folk with festering wounds, others begging me to go and see a badly burned woman, others expecting me to cure consumption with a dose of cough mixture, malaria with a dose of quinine, running sores with one application of ointment. I could not move from the crowd. Never had I so longed for medical knowledge."[297]

Realising that the people in this area need medical attention as a priority, the missionaries first "made themselves experts in first aid and in very general practitioning"[298] "Everyday" wrote Freda Laughlin, "we at Udayagiri hear the call "Ama : Aba: we have come for medicine," and "we do our best to answer it."[299] The group in real need were the anaemic kui mothers. Infant and maternal mortality were "so high that the deceased spirits had become second only to the spirits of tiger killed victims."[300]

In 1929, the first Mission hospital was established in Udayagiri. The first mission doctor arrived the same year[301] Dr. Hugh Craig of Edinburgh agreed to work in the Kond Hills. He had medical experience in the Livingstone Dispensary, Edinburgh, the Milk May Mission Hospital, London, in the Royal Infirmary, Bristol and in the Tropical Diseases Hospital at Liverpool.[302]

Medical work was carried on in a small room in the school on the Mission compound at Udayagiri. Four go-downs accommodated their patients.[303] Dr. Craig worked for only three years. He and his nurse wife were struck with malaria and had to return to Scotland in 1932.[304] Thereafter three missionary nurses were sent to the Kond Hills. Frequent outbreaks of epidemics like dysentery, small pox and cholera and surgical cases required the services of a doctor. By 1936, two doctors, Honor and Gordon Wilkins arrived and resumed the work.[305] In 1938, at Gudriponi, the mission centre one mile South West of G. Udayagiri, the Moorshead Memorial Hospital in memory of Dr. Fletcher Moorshead was opened for the natives.[306] During the year 1939, on an average 50-60 patients were treated who resided in the premises and the number of out-patients was almost 100 daily. A special clinic was held for lepers. People who were nearly blind of cataract were able to see after undergoing operations.[307]

On Ist December, 1939 the government dispensary in Udayagiri was closed. The work done there was transferred to the Mission Hospital. This brought more non Christians into the hospital and Christian doctors on the other hand got opportunities to serve the community on a wider basis.[308] The next year, in December the operation theatre was opened

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by Mr. Thakkur, the Secretary of the All India Harijan Sevak Sangha. A ward for women was postponed due to the outbreak of the Second World War.[309]

In 1941, 849 patients were treated. The number of outdoor patients were 27,029. One hundred and fifteen eye operations were done during this year.[310]

Doctor Stanley Thomas and the daughters of Rev. F. W. Jarry, Miss Jarry and Miss Shierer worked as nurses of the hospital.[311] It had a Training Centre for the training of male and female nurses and it was recognised by the government.[312] Clinical Evangelism was also practised in this hospital.

The hospital had a Clerk evangelist who co-ordinated the medical and the spiritual sides of the work. He helped to link up the work of their hospital with the teachers and evangelists of the Kond Hills District Church Union. Sunday morning services were held regularly in the out-patient hall and was conducted alternatively by members of the Staff and Union workers. Prayers in the Ward were also held.[313]

In due course the non Christians also benefited from these mission hospitals

The missionaries appealed to the government for funds when they found supply of medicine to be insufficient. Mr. Gloyer of the German Mission at Kotpad did a yeomen service for the sick people by nursing them and by providing medicines to the people of Kotpad and its surrounding villages. Mr. Gloyer had studied medicine and surgery to a certain extent at Altona in Germany.[314]

When Mr. Gloyer came to Kotpad as a missionary there was no medical attendance for the sick and he confessed that for "charity sake I did for them, what I could."[315] In 1893, he treated as many as six thousand patients during the year and their numbers increased. He had therefore found the annual supply of medicine from the mission in Germany insufficient to cope with the increasing number of patients. He requested the government to provide him an annual supply of medicines. The Special Assistant Agent, Vizagapatam District in his forwarding letter to the Agent to the Governor, had thought of Mr. Gloyer's request to be reasonable. He stated - "There is no doubt that Mr. Gloyer is doing a great deal of good in administering to the bodily ailments of the people. He has several huts in which he accommodates in patients and is now enlarging his house for that purpose."[316] His request was accepted.

The missionaries believed in total abstinence from drinking. The Baptismal covenant also wished the baptized to give up drinking alcoholic drinks.

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In Berhampur, the Total Abstinence Society was established by Rev. W. B. Phillips of the London Missionary Society in 1876. This society aimed at providing benefits to Hindus, Muslims and Christians.[317] During the course of the national movement when the nationalists taught the people not to drink intoxicants the missionaries at Sambalpur had supported them.[318] Prohibition gained momentum when the Prohibition Society was established by the Baptist Missionaries at Cuttack in 1871. Rev. Miller and Anamachandra Das were its President and Secretary respectively. This society was quite active until 1905. Later on prohibition societies were established in different Churches in Orissa.[319]

The mission stations were aware of the needs of women who were generally neglected in a society. Besides zenana work, few societies for ladies developed to look after the interests of the ladies.

One such society was established in Sambalpur which organised social work amongst Christian ladies.[320] In Cuttack, two separate societies for young girls and mothers were established in 1885. The females were trained in crochet work and stitching clothes for the poor.[321] Some of their stitched or knitting items were sold and they could think of earning for themselves.

The missionaries debated over contemporary issues and participated in policy making by becoming members of Government bodies. Rev. J. Buckley participated by delivering lectures on "The administration of the Marquis of Hastings and Progress in India since its close" in the Cuttack Debating Club. (Wednesday, 28th April, at 7 P.M.).[322] A society was formed to review the publication of Oriya books and Rev. W. C. Lacey was one of its members.[323] Rev. B. B. Smith had been a member of the Balasore Committee for General Education.[324] The missionary in the Kond hills was nominated by the government as the representative and spokesman for the Hill Tribes in the Advisory Council of the new province of Orissa. Due to his illness he failed to fulfil his function and later another missionary Mr. E. M. Evans was nominated and served in this capacity.[325]

In times of crisis caused by natural calamities especially during the time of the famine of 1866, caused by drought in Orissa they extended their co-operation to the British Government in bringing some relief to the miseries of the people. As stated in the Imperial Gazetteers of India, the famine of 1865-67 fell "on the whole coast from Madras upwards, reaching far inlands. The total area affected was estimated at 180,000 square miles, with a population of 47,500,000, but distress was greatest in Orissa, which was at that time practically isolated from the rest of India. The people depended on food on the winter rice, and the rainfall of 1865, was scanty and ceased prematurely. Food

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stocks had been depleted and soon ran short, but the gravity of the situation was not realized, the Bengal Board of Revenue being misled by defective estimates of the population requiring food and by fictitious price lists. The position was not grasped till the end of May, and then the monsoon had set in. Carriage by sea was extremely difficult, and even when grain reached the coast it could not be conveyed in land. At great cost some 10,000 tonnes of rice were imported, but this did not reach the people till September."[326]

It was estimated that at least one million people, or one third of the population died in Orissa. The situation worsened due to floods caused by heavy rains in 1866. It destroyed the rice crops in low lying land. In the following year (1867) relief measures were again undertaken.[327]

The famine of 1866, is called famine of the 9th 'Anka' or regnal year of the Raja of Puri[32]8 The worst affected districts were Balasore, Puri and Cuttack.[329] During the Orissa Famine, "money was spunned as worthless and the prices of rice were far beyond those known in any recorded famine in the century."[330]

The main cause for the famine in Orissa in 1866, was due to premature cessation of rainfall in 1865, in the lower Provinces of the Bengal Presidency which was also insufficient.[331] Other factors were the depletion of the reserve stock of rice due to export in 1865, abnormal rise of price of rice which affected the poor, absence of the stock of rice by merchants, isolation of the coastal tract of Orissa, influx of the destitute in the towns affecting relief measures, selfish outlook of Zamindars and the wealthy people and lastly the conservatism of the people.[332]

The Government was slow in reacting to the famine situation. As the situation worsened in the three districts the European Press and Public became critical.

J. S. Syke a merchant of Calcutta was in business correspondence with the missionaries of Orissa received information about the famine condition[333] from Rev. Miller.[334] On 14th of April, 1866 Sykes opened the Orissa Famine Fund. He collected about 18,000 rupees which he sent to Rev. Miller. The missionaries began their own relief programmes.[335] They purchased paddy with the money provided by the Sykes fund. Rev. Buckley at Cuttack and Rev. Miller at Puri started relief organisations. Those who took paddy and embraced Christianity were called "Paddy Christians." The missionaries also tempted hungry people to become Christians[336] by distributing paddy at their critical hour.

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The missionaries were able to forecast about the forthcoming situation.[337] In their letters of 26.10.1865, 31.3.1866 and 16.4.1866 to the Secretary of the Baptist Missionary Society, London expressing their grave concern of the condition of Orissa.[338]

But when the situation became grave and relief operations were begun the missionaries offered their sincere cooperation to overcome this natural calamity.

In the three districts affected i.e. Cuttack, Puri and Balasore free food was distributed from the unnochutters.[339] The missionary of Puri, W. Miller visited many places in the district to provide first hand information in the condition of the people to the Collector and the Relief Committee.[340] Rev. J: Phillips, the missionary at Jellasore, near Balasore made extensive tours and reported about the famine conditions of the santals of this region.[341] At Jellasore Rev. Phillips provided food to 1,500 persons a day when rice was being sold at a very high rate of six seers a rupee.[342] The missionaries also operated through the various Relief Committees established by the government.

Public Works Department and private Irrigation Companies paid wages in rice and provided work to the people by engaging them in the construction of roads and irrigation channels.[343]

Rev. J. Phillips volunteered supervision of the irrigation channels and other works which were undertaken by the Government as relief measures.[344]

Many children became orphans due to this great famine. These children were cared for by the Relief Committees through the local missionaries. Money and food was provided by the local Committees. The orphanages of Miss Crawford at Jellasore and the orphanages at Cuttack, Puri and Pipli cared for the famine victims. Under the care of the missionaries (American and British Baptists) they learnt to read and some of them learnt useful trade. They were regularly attended upon by doctors.[345] By February 1867, it was decided by the government to pay Rs.4 for each orphan every month.[346] The natives of Orissa feared that orphans entrusted into the hand of missionaries would turn to be Christians. The journals like Hindu Patriot and the Oriya weekly Utkal Deepika came forward with a proposal to entrust Hindu and Mohammedan orphans to the care of their respective religious establishments. Utkal Deepika urged the government to force these establishments to accept children. But in the absence of adequate assistance from the local people the previous arrangement of entrusting the orphans to missionaries by the government continued.[347] A large number of minor females fell into the hands of prostitutes. In Cuttack town as many as 132 children under the age of 8 or 9 were sent to the

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missionary female orphanages. It was feared that the admission of the older girls to female orphanages would have a corrupting influence on the inmates.[348] However much care was taken to rehabilitate the famine orphans. By the end of 1867, there were 1553 orphans in the hands of guardians selected by the Relief Committees. The government granted Rs. 3 a month for the maintenance of each orphan child upto a certain age—17 for boys and 16 years for girls. A marriage provision for the girls and small bonus for boys after they reached 17 was also decided.[349]

In the service report of the Ganjam famine orphans for the year 1884-85 it came to the knowledge of the government that there were five orphans at the beginning of the year. During the year three of them attained 18 years and were discharged with usual donation, leaving two orphans at the end of 1884-85, one in the Church of England Institution at Berhampur and the other in the Roman Catholic Institution at Surada.[350]

J. G. Horsfall Esq., Collector of Ganjam submitted to the Chief Secretary to government dated 13th May, 1885 his annual report relating to the Ganjam famine orphans for the year 1884- 85. According to him a sum of Rs.292 was spent during 1884-85. The rates of the subsistence allowance was 2-8-0 for each orphan. The male orphans were discharged on attaining the age of 18 years and the females at the same age unless they were married earlier. A sum of Rs.20 was paid as donation to each discharged orphan.[351]

The only orphan at Berhampur named Luke Dirna remained under the charge of the chaplain of that place, was a dumb and crippled. He was allowed to continue with the subsistence allowance until he was able to support himself. The orphans at Surada were under the care of the Catholic priest, the Rev. Father Dupart. The boys were taught to read and write in Oriya. The girls were employed in spinning weaving, sewing, gardening, cooking etc.[352] to make them self sufficient and able house wives in future.

The missionary spirit was not an isolated religious phenomenon, it was the religious aspect of the broader socio—economic and political movement that looked beyond the limits of national boundaries.[353] The missionaries were not always motivated exclusively by religious considerations. The people who volunteered to become missionaries reflected "the normal excitement over an unusual career in an usual corner of the work, free from the more prosaic patterns of the ministry or a position in business at home."[354] Therefore, leaving aside the question of evangelization the missionaries very often reacted to certain social problems and spoke in favour of bringing remedies to such situations.

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In Orissa some time honoured social injustice like sati, human sacrifice, female infanticide etc. was abolished and suppressed through government intervention. In this context, the Orissa missionaries by coming in close contact with the natives of Orissa tried to convince them to get rid of the superstitious belief. Missionary education and missionary publications brought enlightenment to the debased mind. In the words of David B. Smith "The Missionaries, however of Orissa are not only apostles of evangelization and education—though such is certainly the chief and of their ambition—but they are the friends of sanitation the dispensers of medicine to the sick, the clothers of the naked, the feeders of the hungry, the shelterers of the exposed, the guardians of friendless widows and orphans. They have an intimate knowledge of the people, their language, their modes of thought and their everyday wants. They have rescued many children from poverty, prostitution and immolation."

Meriah or human sacrifice was quite commonly prevalent in the Kond Hills and in some other parts of Orissa. As stated by A. Sutton- "It appears to have been the practice from time immemorial for the Khunds to offer a human sacrifice to the protecting goddess of their wild fields. The victims are usually stolen or purchased from the plains or some distant neighbourhood when mere children and fattened for the sacrifice. Some times they are kept for a number of years. When the propitious time arrives, the poor creatures are conducted about noon to the appointed spot, and lashed to a post firmly fixed into the ground. The villagers from the surrounding country assemble at the clanging of their barbarous instruments decked out in the most frightful manner, shouting and dancing under the maddening influence of their satanic revelry. At a signal given they rush on their devoted victim, and with sharp knives, literally cut off the quivering flesh piecemeal. They then hasten to their respective fields in order to deposit therein the precious morsel before the day closes over them."[356]

This practice was discovered by the British government in 1836, during the Ghumsur wars. It was successfully suppressed by the government by 1870s.[357] The rescued meriah victims were looked after by the missionaries. The government entrusted them with this kind of responsibility.

Rescued children from the Meriah practice were put in mission schools. About two hundred such children were sent to schools in the plains by John Campbell. Christian education would wean them a way from the superstitious belief, Conversion to Christianity was also another motive for rehabilitating them in mission centres. The

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government provided subsidies for these children. Some of these children were looked after by Mr. and Mrs. Stubbins, and by Mr. and Mrs. Wilkinson who managed the orphanages at Berhampur in Ganjam. Some others were sent to the orphanage at Cuttack run by Mr. and Mrs. Buckley. Mr. Bachelor, the American Baptist Missionary at Balasore also took care of some of the Meriah children in his orphanage.[358]

In 1850 and 1851, Campbell visited the schools run by the Government in the Chumsur Kond country. He found the Meriah children lacking the rudimentary knowledge of learning and writing. He therefore suggested that the Meriah children be transferred to the care of the Missionaries at Cuttack, Berhampur and Balasore.

The Meriah children were given vocational training in mission orphanages. They learnt weaving, tailoring, gardening, painting, carpentry etc. to become self-sufficient when they would turn adults—Many of them were sent to the Mission farm near Cuttack, where they followed agriculture as their occupation.[360] Sutton has also given instances of such rescued Meriah children who were taken under their care and custody. In his words, "The personal history of several of our little girls is very affecting... I will however, just add, that one of the three rescued from the Khunds is a young woman of about 18 years of age. She was kidnapped from the Boad district, when about three or four years of age, and has been confined ever since. When rescued, she was chained by the ankles and in four days was to be sacrificed. She appears of a very mild, though some what pensive disposition, but expresses herself very happy to be placed among our grils."[361]

Other social beliefs and practices like infanticide and Sati came under missionary criticism. J. Peggs in his pamphlets 'Infanticide in India' and in his exposition 'India's Cries to British Humanity' had dealt with the origin, nature and the extent of these atrocities prevalent in Orissa in the name of custom and tradition and pleaded for the suppression of these practices with logic. Female infanticide was observed in the territory of Jeypore and in the Surada and Sanakimedi Maliahs in Ganjam district. George Russell in his first report to the Madras Government dated 12th August, 1886 referred to the existence of the custom of female infanticide among the Konds.[362] The missionary education and missionary preaching and nursing undermined the existent religious beliefs and after becoming converts the natives were inclined to give up their practices. According to J. Peggs, "Sattee is the name given in India to a women who immolates herself on the funeral pile of her husband, or is buried alive with his body, and denotes that the female is considered faithful to him even unto death, the term is also applied to the rite itself."[363] Rev. Bampton, Peggs, Lacey

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gave first hand reports of Sati being performed in Orissa. Apart from appealing to abolish Sati J. Peggs had also criticized other in-human situations like slavery, colonization and Ghat Murders being observed elsewhere in India and abroad.

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78. PP H.C. Vol.VIII, 1812-13, *opcit, Regulation XI Section III and IV* For practical purposes only two thirds of the registered number paid The registered number itself hardly represented one half of the actual total which entered the city unnoticed - Statistical Account of Bengal Vol. XIV, P.56 by W.W.Hunter. J. Peggs, Pilgrim Tax in India, P.13. According to Stirlings Account of Orissa, P.225 (Asiatic Research Vol.XV) for the last five years the following number of pilgrims had attended the three great festivals.

Years	Paying tax.	Exempt.	Total
1817-18	35,941	39,720	75,661
1818-19	36,241	4,870	41,111
1819-20	92,874	39,000	131,874
1820-21	21,946	11,500	33,446
1821-22	35,160	17,000	52,160

79. J. Peggs, *Pilgrim Tax in India*, P.11.
80. J. Peggs, *India's Cries to British Humanity* P.83.
81. P. Mukherjee, *History of the Jagannath Temple in the 19th Century*, P. 26 Prathiharies - *They were temple guides who escorted the pilgrims. They were also known as Pariharis.*
82. J. Peggs, *India's Cries to British Humanity*, P.83.
83. Ibid. *Gazetteers of India, Puri* P.814 edited by N. Senapati and D. C. Kuanr. Butwa - Pilgrim Guide (D. Swaro - The Christian Missionaries in Orissa, P.230 - 232.) Pandas are servants of Jagannath. W.F.B. Laurie- The garden of superstition and idolatry, P.68

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84. J. Peggs, *India's Cries to British Humanity*, P.83.
85. *Ibid.*
86. *Ibid.*, P.84. Lal Jatris are those who came to attend Jatra at Puri and remained until the Rath Jatra. Nim Lauls are those who came to Puri to attend the Snan Jatra and remained to see the Rath Jatra.
87. *Ibid*, P.112.
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93. *Ibid.*
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95. J. Peggs, *India's Cries to British Humanity*, P.255. *Gazetteers of India, Orissa, Puri*, edited by N. Senapati and D.L. Kuanr, P. 814.
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97. W. W. Hunter, *Orissa, Vol. I*, PP.124-25.
98. K. M. Patra, *Orissa under the East India Company*, PP.248-49.
99. P. Mukherjee, *History of Orissa*, Vol. VI, P.175.
100. PPHC 1812-13 Vol. VIII P.M. 597 paper relating to the temple Jagannath.
101. P. Mukherjee, *History of the Jagannath Temple in the 19th Century*, P.204.
102. *Ibid.*
103. J. W. Kaye, *Christianity in India*, P.397.
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105. C. Buchanan, *Colonial Ecclesiastical Establishment*, P.139.
106. *Ibid.*, PP.141-42.
107. *Ibid.*, P.142.
108. P. Mukherjee, *The History of the Jagannath Temple in the 19th Century*, PP.204-05.
109. *Ibid.*, P.206.
110. J. Peggs, *India's Cries to British Humanity*, PP.121-22.
111. *Ibid.*, P.122.
112. *Ibid.*
113. PPHC 1812-13 paper 142, para 46, P.46. No. 6, copy of a letter from Governor General in council to the secret Committee of the Court of Directors dated 2nd November, 1807, relating to Missionaries.
114. Copy of letter from Charles Buller, Esquire to the Court of Directors of the East India Company dated 19th May, 1813.
115. *Ibid.*
116. Copy of letter from Charles Buller, Esquire to the Court of Directors of the East India Company dated 19th May, 1813.
117. *Ibid.*

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118. *Ibid.*
119. *Copy of a letter from Charles Buller Esquire to the Court of Directors of the East India Company dated 19th May, 1813.*
120. PPHC, 1812-13 Vol. VIII, Idol Jaggernarth Rev. Buchhanan to the Court of Directors, 25th May, 1813, P.1 PHC 1812-13 Vol. X, Idol Juggernart, June, 1813, PP.1-4.
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128. J. Peggs, *India's Cries to British Humanity*, P.124.
129. *Ibid.*
130. *Ibid*, P.125.
131. K. M. Patra, *Orissa under the East India Company*, P.246. Proceedings of the Lieutenant Governor of Bengal, General (Sanitahon) Department, August, 1871. Between 1842-66, 2, 431 died of cholera at the Charitable dispensaries and Jails in Puri.
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133. A. Sutton, *Narrative of the Mission to Orissa, Opcit*, P.125.
134. J. Peggs, *India's Cries to British Humanity*, P.125.
135. C.C.O. Vol.X No.117 (N.S.), September, 1849, PP.389-417.
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137. *Ibid.* , P.127.
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145. *Ibid.*
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VII

CONCLUSION

The land of the Oriya speaking people had been outlined by G. A. Grierson, stretching from the districts of Midnapore and Singhbhum in the north to parts of Ganjam and Vizagapatam districts in the south. He also included some areas of Sambalpur and Raipur districts in the west upto the sea in the east.[1] In ancient times the portions of this stretch of Oriya speaking region were named Odra, Kalinga or Trikalinga,[2] in mediaeval times it was popular as Utkal[3] and in modern times it was called Orissa.[4]

In the twelfth century A. D., the Ganga King Anantavarma Chodagangadeva of Kalinga united the portions known as Kalinga, Kangoda, Utkal or Odra and Trikalinga under one political authority. During his reign was born the Oriya language and from his time grew a new culture with Jagannath as its centre.[5]

Under the British government the Oriya speaking areas demarcated by Grierson were in the Lower provinces of Bengal, the Central provinces and the Madras presidency.[6] But when the British occupied Orissa in 1803, it consisted of the three Moghulbandi districts of Puri, Cuttack and Balasore and eighteen Garhjat states,[7] which did not include all the Oriya speaking areas. Prior to their political occupation they had trade contracts with Orissa and had established three business houses at Hariharpur, Cuttack and Balasore. They exported fine muslin and salt to Europe.[8]

The British occupied Orissa in 1803. A few years later, in 1822 the General Baptist Missionaries from England came to work in Orissa. They were followed by the Free Will Baptists from North America. This was popularly known as the Orissa Mission. Missionaries from other denominations worked amongst the Oriya speaking areas in and outside the Orissa state.

When evengelization started in Orissa until the formation of the new State of Orissa the boundary of Orissa had different shapes and sizes. The Orissa Mission was confined in the beginning to the British occupied state of Orissa. With the passage of years it extended its

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help to many who were not within the political limits of Orissa.

Though it was convenient and safer for the earliest group of missionaries to function within the political boundaries of the British government there was hardly any co-operation from the latter. In a question asked to Reverend J. Tucker by the Select Committee on Indian Territories - "Will you state to the Committee whether the missions receive countenance, assistance or hindrance from the Government as such?" The reply was "They receive protection as regards the law, but assistance of either a pecuniary or any other kind they receive none whatsoever, nor am I aware of any application having been made to the Government for assistance to any missions."[9]

Therefore it is clear, no incentive was given to the missionaries by the British Government to open stations in Orissa. Evangelization was considered by the government a kind of socio-religious interference which was detrimental towards British rule in Orissa. The government though keen to conciliate the Hindus did not openly discourage evangelization. The success of missionary efforts in and around Orissa suggests the government to be a silent promoter of evangelization.

The British civilians and military officers had assisted the missionaries in Orissa without exciting the slightest jealousy or suspicion from the natives. They had also done the same in Punjab.[10] Perhaps the missionaries had realised that the perpetuation of British rule facilitated evangelization. The British administrators also secretly benefited from proselytization. The native Christians adored the government as their own.

In different fields of missionary operation, the government and the missionaries had worked in close harmony.

Schools, asylums, hospitals, orphanages etc. where the missionaries were engaged, received encouragement and financial support from the government. During the great famine of 1866, the government relied on the missionaries' reports of the famine condition and acted accordingly. It also solicited co-operation from the missionaries in giving relief to the people. Other inhuman practices like sati, female infanticide etc. which came to the notice of the government was also denounced by the Christian missionaries of Orissa.

The co-operation between the missionaries and the government had some ups and downs. In 1803, when Orissa was occupied by the British government, the latter decided to protect the religious sentiments of the Hindus which was a continuation of the policy of Lord Cornwallis. Accordingly the pilgrim tax was retained and the position of the Brahmins was made secure.[11] The government also acted as the Church Warden for the famous Jagannath temple.

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A Christian government identifying itself with idolatrous practices was unpalatable to the missionaries. They were unwilling to co-operate with the government. The latter's patronage of idolatry questioned the very basis of evangelization in Orissa. People were not ready to accept Christianity when their government decided to uphold their native, religious practices. As a matter of political expediency, the British Government refused to identify itself as a Christian government. The missionaries sent petitions to the government, wrote treatise and aroused public opinion at home for a favourable situation. By 1863, the government got rid of its religious commitments.[12]

The missionaries co-operated and fought with the government. They never took part in politics. They remained pious and zealous missionaries. They kept themselves busy in evangelization and preparing the natives for evangelization.

The British Baptist Missionaries in Orissa had resorted to the tactics of presenting exaggerated accounts of pilgrims voluntarily throwing themselves under the wheels of the cars of the deities during the annual Rath Yatra. This was dismissed as an 'European invention,' an attempt to draw the attention of the government and the people of England to dissuade such practices.[13] Some of these exaggerations were motivated with a plea for sending more missionaries to India. Mostly the readers and hearers of missionary books and sermons were the parishioners at home who were favourably inclined towards missionary work abroad.[14]

This kind of mistaken identity about Hinduism amongst the missionaries had developed due to excessive evangelical zeal which prevented them from viewing it objectively. The missionaries also did not possess the intellectual training to compare and appreciate the finer aspects of the Hindu religion.[15]

Swami Vivekananda and Mahatma Gandhiji had repeatedly showed that the criticism of Hinduism "were based on gross exaggeration, often on wholesale distortion, on complete fabrication."[16] The British Evangelical movement which began in the last quarter of the 18th century depended on this propaganda about the backwardness of Hindu religion in America.[17] These accounts were used in America and England to raise money for evangelical purpose. People abroad became quickly aware of the defects[18] of the Indian society and reformers became active.

The Christians had considered Hinduism to be "a dying or dead religion" because it lacked missionary spirit and missionaries. The famous Indologist Max Muller in his famous lecture 'On Missions' delivered at the Westminister Abbey in December, 1873 declared that

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amongst the major religions of the world, "there are two kinds, those that have missionaries and the missionary spirit - Buddhism, Christianity and Islam - and those that do not - Judaism, Hinduism and Zoroastrianism.

The former are living and vibrant, the latter are dead and dying." Christianity according to Muller is "missionary, progressive, world-embracing, it would cease to exist, if it disregarded the parting words of its Founder, 'Go ye therefore and teach all nations, baptising them in the name of the Father and of the Son, and of the Holy Ghost, teaching them to observe all things I have commanded; and lo, I am with you always, even unto the end of the World."[19]

Unfortunately Hinduism in the first half of the nineteenth century was at its lowest ebb. Orthodox ideas had crept into this religious system. The religion became identified with socio—religious evils like human and animal sacrifice, caste-system, sati, female infanticide, child-marriage, devadasis, pilgrimages etc. The missionaries had accepted this degeneration as the true facet of Hinduism.

The essence of the Hinduism was their inner quest, the realisation of truth and its success depended on being a true Hindu. The teachings of Swami Vivekananda, Sri Aurobindo, Gandhiji, Rama Krishna Paramhansa, Raman Maharshi and Paramacharya had touched this point.[20] The onslaughts of Christianity into Hindu premises had "quickened the efforts of Hindu reformers" to set their own house in order. As a result Brahmoism, a simple, honest and enlightened version of Hinduism was born. The famous Brahmo, Keshab Chandra Sen had acknowledged, "though Christian missionaries might not wish to recognise Brahmoism as their work, it was the work of those missionary Christians who lived in India as examples of a true Christian life."[21]

The social history of Orissa showed that the years between 1822-1847 was a clear period of missionary activity, the years between 1847-1873 was a mixture of British governmental activity and missionary work. The other phase consisting of the years 1874-98 was a period of reaction against the influx of Christianity. The Brahmo Samajists began to counter Christianity by pretending to be a reformist group amongst the Hindus. After 1898, Hinduism turned more reformist to be able to withstand the challenges of the various religious reform movements. The Satyabadi School of enlightened reformists rose to this occasion.[22]

While in the second half of the nineteenth century the educated urban Oriyas accepted Brahmoism, an indigenous reformist cult known as Mahima dharma became popular amongst the rural illiterates. It had a definite influence over the religious, social and cultural life of

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the people. The simplicity of this cult appealed to many.[23] Conversion was the main aim of the missionaries of Orissa. The preparatory work for evangelization engaged them in activities like educating the people, caring for the sick, the poor and the unwanted. Their work greatly benefited the people of Orissa. Missionary help reached the remotest corners where the government had not.

Vinoba Bhave had remarked that the missionaries were the first to take up leprosy work in India. Others followed them.[24] The Cuttack Leper Asylum was run by the missionaries of Orissa. Many missionary hospitals in Orissa also looked after the medical needs of Christians and non-Christians of Orissa.

The British Baptist missionaries of Orissa were pioneers in establishing educational institutions and the modern Printing Press. The earliest journals were also published by them.[25] They established the first Oriya school in Cuttack, as early as 1822, whereas the first government school was established at Puri in 1835.[26]

The first printing press was established at Cuttack by the British Baptist Missionaries of Orissa. Like the Serampore Mission Press and the Press at Fort William College in Bengal they worked for the development of early Oriya printing. Their work inspired 'indigenous scholarship and zeal. Subsequently it led to the birth of an indigenous Printing Company in 1864, known as the Cuttack Printing Company.[27] When the Oriya language faced severe attack from some Englishmen and non-Oriyas, it was saved only by the sustained efforts of the literary and linguistic works done by the Printing Press.[28] Various social, political and religious issues were discussed through publication and debated by the educated youth through different organisations. The Cuttack Debating Club (1869), Puri Society and many other organisation sprang up to discuss these issues.[29] The literary awakening through these efforts encouraged unity amongst the Oriya speaking people under different administrative set up of the British ruler. The formation of an independent state for the Oriyas was the result of such a feeling that developed out of such circumstances.

Parental missionary work was undertaken by these missionaries in unusual times. During natural calamities and when epidemics broke out during the annual Car festival at Puri they rescued the destitute children and kept them in their orphanages. They were cared for and grew up to be true Christians. During the famine of 1866, the missionaries gave support to the British government by distributing rice and looking after the famine victims. The Baptist missionary, J. Peggs had written treatise on the social and religious customs in India and Orissa like Sati, Meriah Infanticide etc. 'Infanticide in India' and 'In-

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dia's Cries to British Humanity' were some of his works. When these inhuman practices were denounced by the missionaries, the British government in India and at home became more agreeable towards suppressing them. The missionary preaching, education and nursing also gradually convinced them to give up such practice

Missionary work succeeded in patches. It began in the coastal, Moghulbandi areas of Cuttack, Puri and Balasore. Caste Hindus became individual converts in the face of social ostracism. After becoming converts they lost their caste identity. Mass conversion amongst the high caste Hindus was not possible. The converted ones were rehabilitated in Christian settlements, educated in mission schools and cared for by the missionaries. In course of time many of them became agents of missionary enterprise in Orissa.

In 1951, the total number of Christians in Orissa were 1,41,934 i.e. only 0.96 per cent of the population.[30]

The muslims of Orissa did not respond enthusiastically to the appeals of the missionaries. The latter gradually turned their attention towards the tribals. In the census of India, 1921 it is clearly stated- "Christianity makes little practical appeal to the caste Hindu or to the Mohammedan, and converts are drawn almost entirely from the lower classes of the Hindus and from the aboriginal tribes."[31] The 1931, Census Report on Bihar and Orissa also reiterated this fact that "primitive tribes of the province furnish the most fruitful field for Christian missionaries."[32]

The Census Report of 1911, on Bengal Bihar and Orissa had observed that aboriginals were more receptive towards Christianity because they were accepted easily in tribal community after becoming converts.[33] The tribals lived in close—knit communities. They had no caste system.

The missionaries were therefore successful in converting the tribals in large groups or communities. Hindus and Muslims once being converted to Christianity, if they wished could not gain back their religion. The Konds accepted the converts without reservation.

Evangelization succeeded amongst the Konds of Boudh Kondmal, Santals of Balasore, Midnapore, Mayurbhanj and Savars of Ganjam and Vizagapatnam. The missionaries gave the Santals and Konds a script of their own . Much work was done by them to improve their languages. They remained pioneers in the field of tribal education. The success of the Orissa Mission amongst the tribals is also evident from the fact that in 1911, nearly ninetenth of the Indian Christians in the provinces of Bengal, Bihar, Orissa and Sikkim belonged to the four tribes of Oraons, Mundas, Kharias and Santhals. In 1921, they

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constituted 87 per cent and in 1931, provided 88 per cent of the total number of Indian Christians in Bihar and Orissa.[34]

The mission had failed to conquer the very seat of Hinduism i.e. Puri. Like Bengal, British administration was less extensive in Orissa. Most of Orissa was ruled by Garhjat kings. Poor communication, poor educational system and lack of a conscious middle class to receive the ideas of Christianity affected missionary work. The force of tradition was stronger in Orissa than in Bengal. Muslim and British rule reached later in Orissa than in Bengal. They lacked the type of exposure required for a change.[35]

The missionaries adopted certain methods to evangelize the people. They preached in fairs, bazaars, in the annual Car festival even in jails and hospitals where they could face the people in a group. In the cold season, they travelled from village to village and met the people. They distributed tracts and gospels amongst the people to make them aware of Christ before becoming converts.[36]

Both male and female missionaries worked towards proselytizing Orissa. At first female missionaries were available in the form of the wives of missionaries. Later on the Sisters of the mission came to render service. The 'heroic wives of the pioneer husbands' layed the foundation of work amongst the women in Orissa.[37] They supervised the day schools, gave tuition to East Indian girls and visited the Christian families.[38] Zenana education was successful due to their efforts. The missionaries' approach was a humanitarian approach towards conversion. Forcible conversion was never thought of. There were stray instances of conversion through deception. This was not prescribed by the home authorities.

Compared to North Eastern India, their progress in this field was limited. Their success cannot be measured by the number of converts they gained. Their work can be judged through the contribution of the missionaries towards the social reconstruction and renaissance in Orissa. The British have left, but the soldiers of the Cross continue to evangelize.

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